The UNESCO Courier

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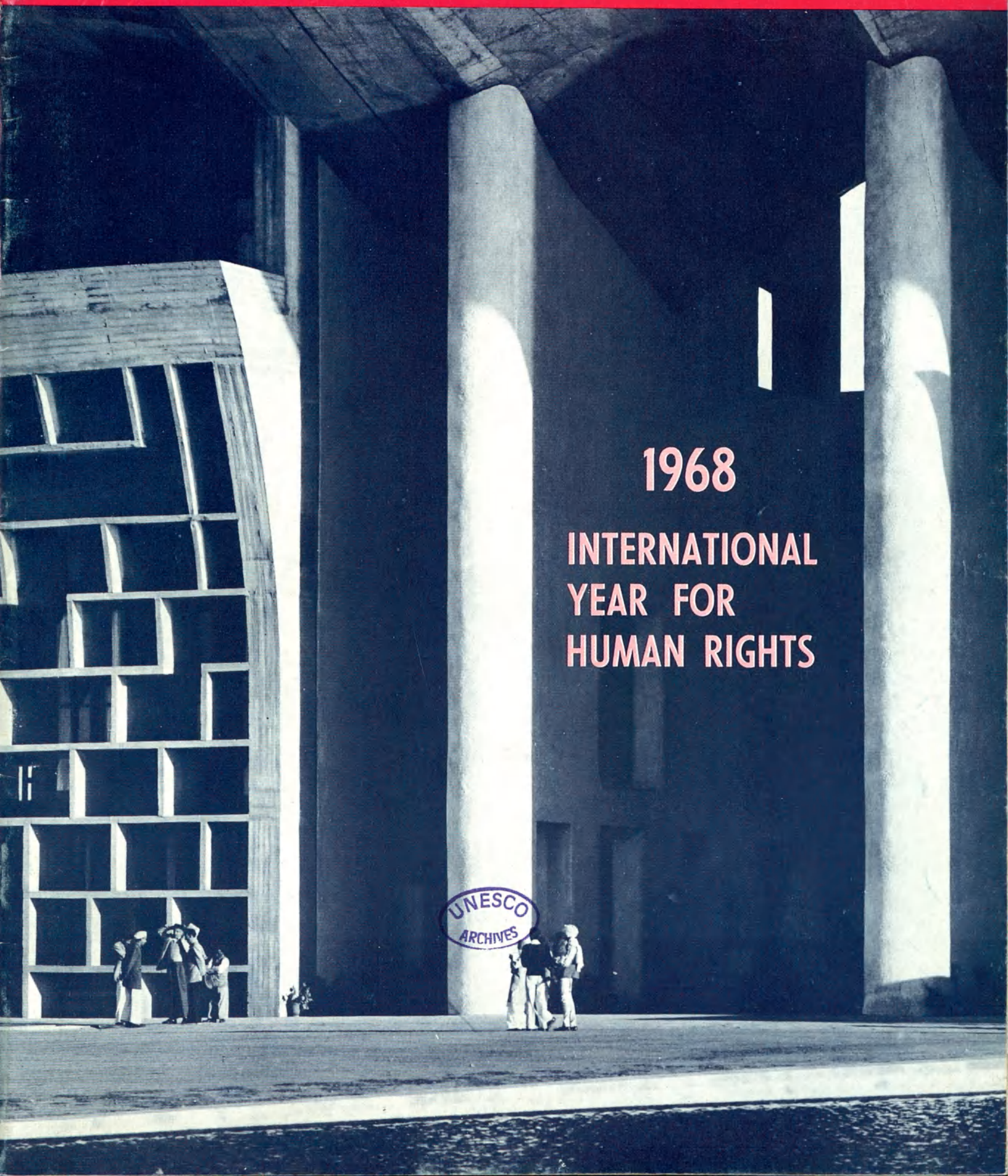
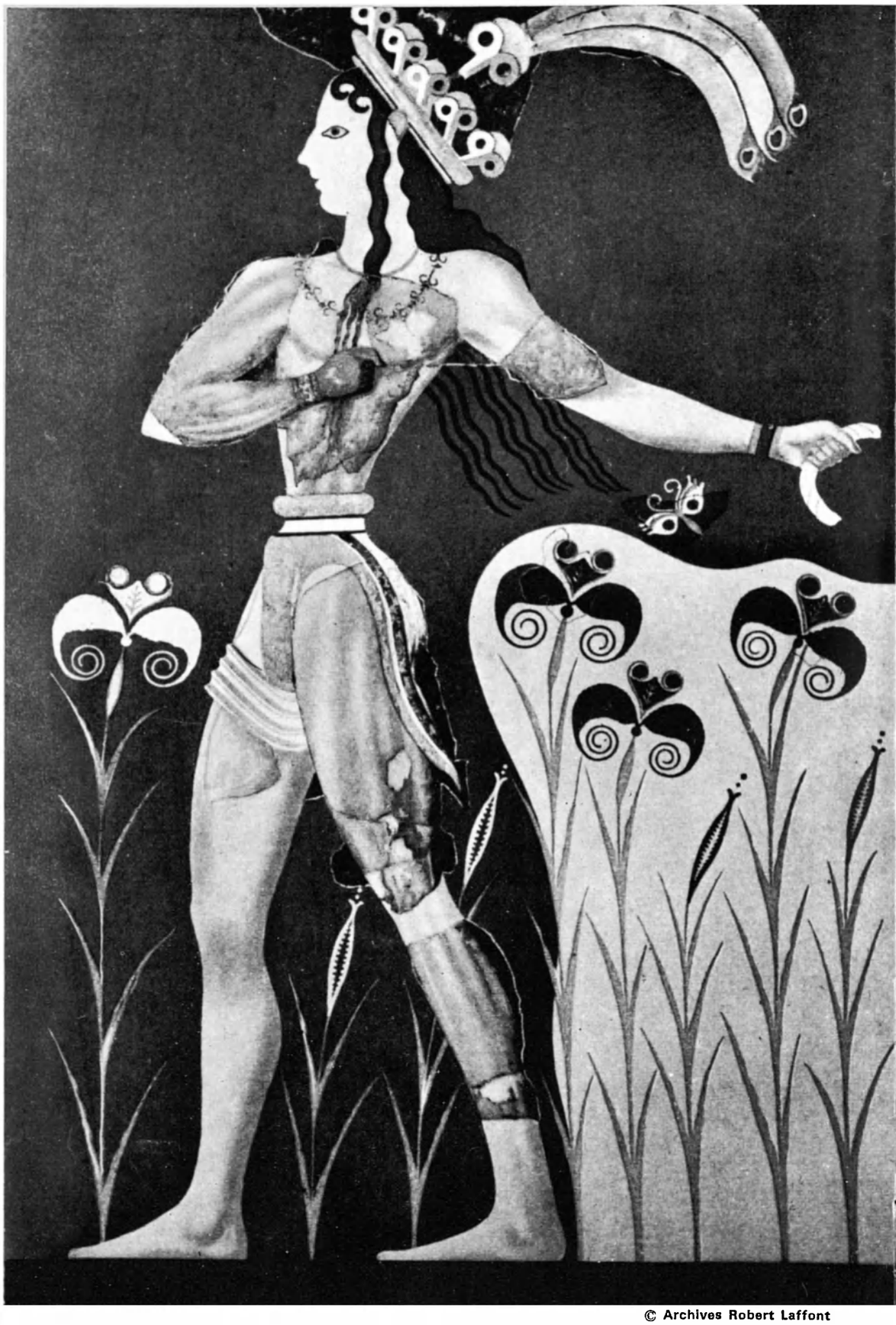
January 1968 (21st year) — U. K.: 2/-stg - Canada: 40 cents - France: 1.20 F



1968 INTERNATIONAL YEAR FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

UNESCO ARCHIVES

TREASURES
OF
WORLD ART
22



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The young king of Crete

In this 3,500 years-old fresco, the noble figure of a Cretan priest-king, wearing a crown of flowers with an aigrette of peacock feathers, his slender waist enclosed by a kind of collar-ring, walks across a field of lilies, sacred flower of the ancient Minoan civilization. The work was recovered from the ruins of Knossos, which seems to have been engulfed by some cataclysmic event, possibly an earthquake, about 1400 B.C. Painted floors and walls were universal in Minoan houses, and 3,000 years before the Christian era Cretan artists painted remarkable frescoes on wet lime, depicting human figures, animals and flowers.

The UNESCO Courier

JANUARY 1968
21ST YEAR

PUBLISHED IN
ELEVEN EDITIONS

English
French
Spanish
Russian
German
Arabic
U.S.A.
Japanese
Italian
Hindi
Tamil

Published monthly by UNESCO

The United Nations
Educational, Scientific
and Cultural Organization

Sales and Distribution Offices
Unesco, Place de Fontenoy, Paris-7e.

Annual subscription rates: 20/-stg.; $4.00 (Canada); 12 French francs or equivalent; 2 years: 36/-stg.; 22 F. Single copies 2/-stg.; 40 cents; 1.20 F.

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The UNESCO COURIER is published monthly, except in August and September when it is bi-monthly (11 issues a year in English, French, Spanish, Russian, German, Arabic, Japanese, Italian, Hindi and Tamil). In the United Kingdom it is distributed by H.M. Stationery Office, P.O. Box 569 London, S.E.I.

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The Unesco Courier is indexed monthly in The Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, published by H. W. Wilson Co., New York.

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INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF HUMAN RIGHTS

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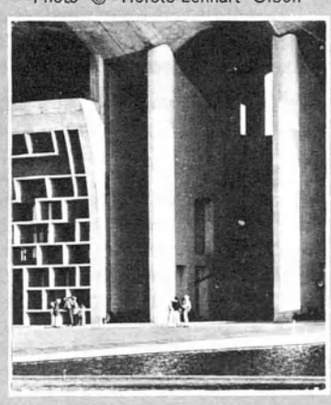

When the founding fathers of the United Nations drew up the U.N.'s Charter at San Francisco in 1945, they established in the very first paragraph of the Preamble their fundamental objective: to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. In the next paragraph of the Preamble they reaffirmed faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person. It was in recognition of this interdependence of human rights and world peace that the United Nations took upon itself, as one of its earliest tasks, the formulation of mankind's first Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and for all nations, large and small.

N° 1 - 1968 MC 67-1-231 A

The author of the first draft
of the Universal Declaration recalls

HOW THE CHARTER ON HUMAN RIGHTS WAS BORN

Twenty years ago on December 10, 1948, the United Nations General Assembly adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. To mark this event the U.N. General Assembly has unanimously designated the whole of this year, 1968, as International Human Rights Year.

In this issue, the Unesco Courier reviews the events which led to the final preparation of the Universal Declaration and examines some of the significant developments in the field of human rights during the past twenty years which have made it "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations". Much has been accomplished since 1948, but no country in the world has yet fully implemented the rights affirmed in the Universal Declaration.

In the article below, Professor René Cassin, former president of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, who prepared the first draft of the Universal Declaration, recalls how the historic document was drawn up and reaffirms the profound significance of the Declaration today.

by René Cassin

WHEN, in the name of racism and bigotry, Adolph Hitler launched his remorseless juggernaut against the rights of man in Germany and other countries, and against the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity proclaimed in 1789, many were the voices raised in angry protest.

When his acts of aggression plunged the world into a new global war, still more numerous were those who saw the conflict as "a crusade for fundamental rights and freedoms" and vowed that, even before the war was ended, the respect and protection of human rights should be inscribed alongside Peace itself amongst the fundamental aims of the new world organization already foreseen, thereby eliminating the weaknesses of the Covenant of the former League of Nations.

The San Francisco Conference, convened in the spring of 1945 to draft the United Nations Charter, unanimously endorsed this view.

The discovery of Hitler's extermination camps at that time aroused such horror that governments were compelled, by the weight of public opinion, not only to bring to trial and punish those guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity, but to solemnly pledge to draft an International Bill of Rights. With this in mind, a special organ of the U.N.—the Commission on Human Rights—was established in 1946 as laid down in Article 68 of the U.N. Charter. Charged with the task of promoting human rights generally, the Commission was asked, on a priority basis, to prepare a draft Charter of Human Rights for submission to the U.N. General Assembly.

This was the atmosphere in which, in 1946, a special Division of Human Rights was set up under Henri Laugier, Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations, and in which the views and recommendations of various civic and other non-governmental organizations were first heard by a preparatory group. They met under the chairmanship of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, widow of the deceased American President, and agreed to undertake the simultaneous drafting of two documents—an International Declaration of the Principles of Human Rights, inspired by famous precedents from many countries; and an International Covenant which would define human rights in precise, concrete terms and be legally binding.

An eight-member drafting committee then called on me to prepare a preliminary draft Declaration, on the basis of material assembled by Professors John P. Humphrey and Emile Giraud, and proposals submitted by certain governments (Panama and Cuba). This draft was presented to the Committee on June 3, 1947.

The discussions at this stage made good progress, especially in regard to the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual, already incorporated in the famous English, American and French declarations, and later enshrined in almost every national constitution drawn up during the 19th and 20th centuries.

It was at the second session of the Human Rights Commission, held in Geneva in November 1947, that the definite decision was taken to draw up the future Charter on Human Rights in three sections: a central Declaration, a legally binding Covenant, and Measures of Implementation, that is, arrangements for international review of the way in which States carried out

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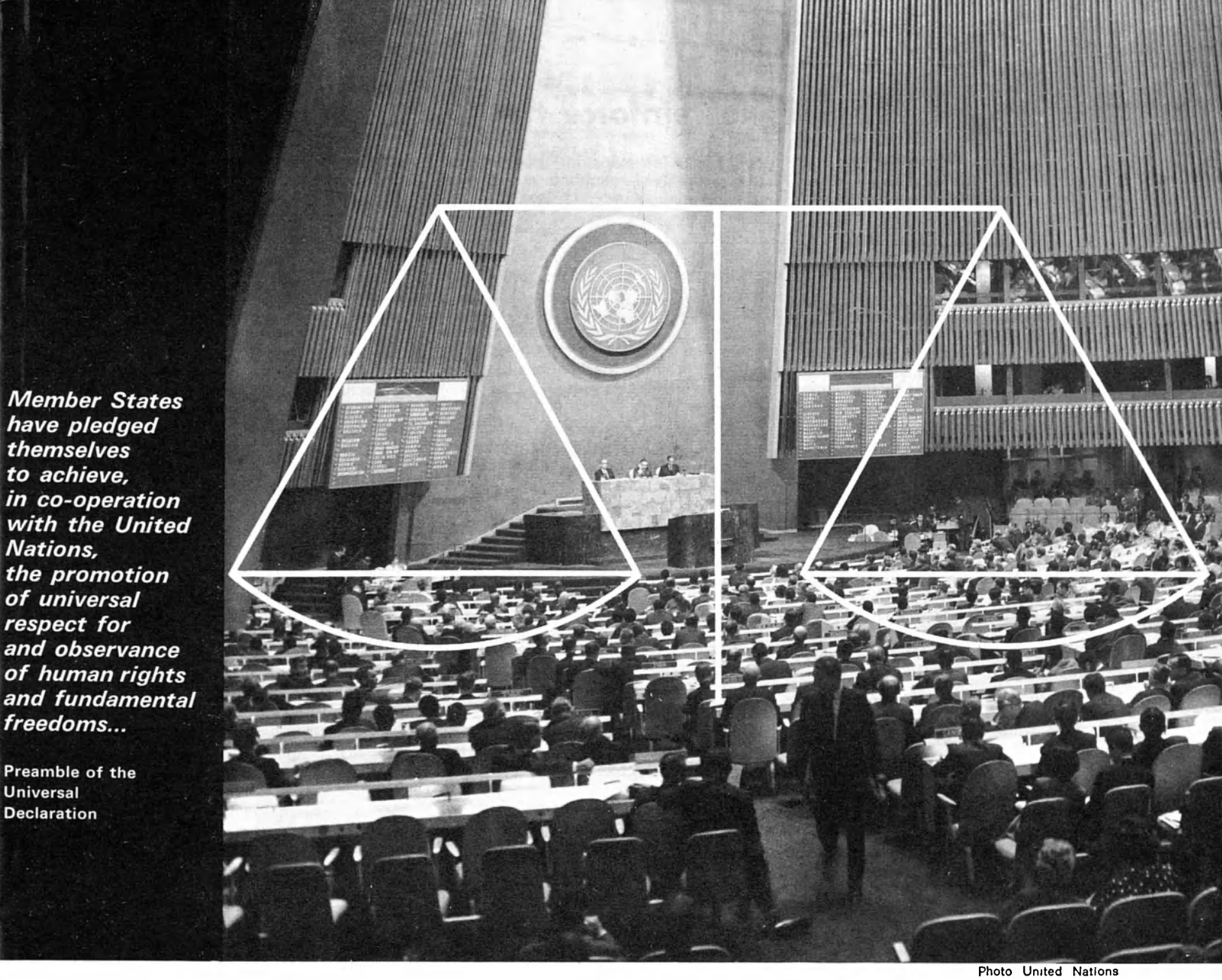
RENE CASSIN *is one of the great names in the modern struggle for human rights. He drew up the first draft of the Universal Declaration. French representative to the League of Nations (1924-1938) and to the United Nations (1946-1958), he took part in the preparatory meeting in 1944 which led to Unesco's foundation. Former president of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, he is now president of the European Court of Human Rights (Strasbourg) Among his many works is "La Déclaration Universelle et la Mise en Œuvre des Droits de l'Homme" (The Universal Declaration and the Achievement of Human Rights). He is a member of the Institut Français and president of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Paris.*



Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms...

Preamble of the Universal Declaration

Photo United Nations

their obligations under the Covenant.

The most rapid progress, however, was made on the Declaration itself, and special attention was given, at the suggestion of the Soviet delegate, Ambassador Alexander Bogomolov, to those Articles dealing with economic, social and cultural rights, since these had been accorded particular attention in the new constitutions drawn up during the first half of our century.

The third session of the Human Rights Commission, in the spring of 1948, was the really decisive one. It was then that the Preamble and the final Articles of the draft Declaration were adopted, due account being taken of the views of the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women, and most important of all, that the Commission decided to give equal emphasis to two sets of rights: civil and political rights (often known as "rights of option") on the one hand, and economic, social and cultural rights (or "rights of claim") on the other. It further specified in a covering Article (Article 22) that the realization of the economic, social and cultural rights was dependent on the organization and resources of each State as well as on international co-operation.

Once the draft Declaration had been prepared, it was up to the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to decide whether it should be submitted to the General Assembly at once, or held up pending completion of the draft Covenant, an initiative of the United Kingdom. Lord Attlee, then Prime Minister of Great Britain, rallied to the majority view, realizing that if advantage were not taken of the then favourable international atmosphere, neither the Declaration nor the Covenant might ever be approved. Accordingly, the Economic and Social Council, without debating the draft Declaration, forwarded it to the General Assembly for consideration at its regular session in 1948.

The session opened at the Palais de Chaillot in Paris in the presence of M. Vincent Auriol, the President of the French Republic. The Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee (known as the Third Committee) examined the draft Declaration, while the Legal Committee discussed a draft Convention then under consideration on the prevention and punishment of genocide.

The ensuing discussions often reached a high pitch of emotion, with every delegation taking part, including those from Asia, Africa and Latin America. The debate continued for 87 sessions in the Third Committee of the General Assembly, presided over by Mr. Charles Malik, of the Lebanon, and for 10 meetings in special committee.

The general form of the initial draft —supported by Mr. Peng Chun Chang, of the Republic of China—was maintained; so also was the balance between the two sets of rights established by the Commission on Human Rights in Article 22. The Declaration was abridged, however, to 30 Articles preceded by the Preamble and the Introduction. But it was also improved and completed, especially as regards the condemnation of all forms of discrimination (Article 2), the right of everyone to an effective remedy by competent tribunal (Article 8), the right to asylum (Article 14), the right to a nationality (Article 15), the right to marry, the rights of intending

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Two great Covenants to reinforce the Declaration

spouses and the right to found a family (Article 16), and the right to take part in public life (Article 21).

Toward midnight on December 10, 1948 the General Assembly formally adopted the Universal Declaration. There were 48 votes in favour, 8 abstentions and not a single vote against. After the adoption delegates went to the rostrum to speak on their vote. Few were the delegations that failed to point out that the Declaration was not binding on States in the same manner as a Covenant. Six of the eight abstaining countries were from the Socialist countries of Eastern Europe. They explained that they found the Declaration "inadequate", and one even termed it "old-fashioned". Mrs. Roosevelt described it as an act of historic significance. The President of the General Assembly, Mr. Herbert Evatt, of Australia, declared:

"Millions of men, women and children all over the world will turn for help, guidance and inspiration to this document."

The author of this article also took the floor and spoke of the nature of the Declaration, and particularly its universality.

To my mind, the dominant feature that characterizes the universality of the Declaration is its broad scope and content. The Declaration embraces all the rights and freedoms essential for the dignity and development of the human personality: the right to life and to physical and juridical freedom; to spiritual and political freedom such as freedom of conscience, opinion and information; the right to work, to own property, to education, to leisure, to the benefits of culture, and to engage in intellectual and artistic creation.

Originally conceived as an international Declaration produced by States for the benefit of the citizens of those States, the Universal Declaration focussed increased attention directly on man's relations with his fellows and on a wide range of social patterns such as the family, religion, employment and professions, the city and State, and society as a whole. All members of the family of Man are consequently encompassed within the Declaration insofar as they are directly subject to international law *(jus gentium)*, irrespective of their original or present status, and without distinction of race, sex, creed, language, birth, fortune, social condition or opinion. The Universal Declaration applies to all States or territories regardless of the political, juridical, economic or international status of the country, or whether or not it is a member of the United Nations.

Although the authors of the Declaration in no way attempted to avoid direct references to the contempt for human rights that had resulted in barbarous acts which had outraged the conscience of mankind, they refused to turn the Declaration into a document of acrimony and bitterness harking back to the past. Instead, they sought to erect the foundations for the building of a better future.

The Declaration voices the deep-rooted, enduring aspirations of all men for liberty, equality and at least a measure of security, whether the society people live in is more advanced and provides certain basic rights, or underdeveloped and deprives them of proper food, liberty and education.

In short, the Declaration sets forth an ideal of achievement and marks out the guide-lines for a vast programme of positive action.

But a glance at the realities of life today is enough to show that they fall far short of the ideal. No country, not even the most advanced, can pride itself on fulfilling all the Articles of the Declaration. Once the memory of a war fought for certain principles has ended or new countries have acceded to independence, governments are inclined to settle internal problems without due regard for human rights.

Repeated violations of the right to life, killings and massacres left unpunished, the exploitation of women, mass hunger and starvation, the perpetuation of slavery, lack of proper education, disregard for freedom of conscience, opinion and expression, widespread racial discrimination and segregation, arbitrary government—all these and many other abuses are far too frequent to be denied.

YET the Universal Declaration clearly indicates, in the final paragraphs of the Preamble, the principal measures that can be taken to counter such abuses. Foremost amongst these are teaching and education, not only of the young but of persons of all ages. Here Unesco has had a vital role to play.

But this is not the only road open for action. There are national measures that are the primary responsibility of governments but which can be carried out with the support and co-operation of different agencies of the United Nations Family; there are many international measures—measures of prevention, measures of review, and if need be, measures of censure and punishment.

It took the Commission on Human Rights six years (from 1948 to 1954) and the General Assembly a further thirteen years (from 1954 to December 16, 1966) first to draft and then to consider and adopt the two great Covenants which complete the United Nations Charter of Human Rights.

The provisions contained in these Covenants are not only binding on each State party thereto but provide for international machinery to ensure that all States live up to their obligations under the Covenants, as well as appropriate machinery for action on violations following complaints by States or individuals (1).

But here too it will certainly take a long time before these Covenants are ratified by enough countries to enter into force (35 ratifications are needed for each Protocol), unless public opinion in each country is mobilized to bring strong pressure on governments to speed ratification. Nor can the Charter of Human Rights become a real force unless persistent efforts are made by world public opinion to render its application effective everywhere.

Despite the many difficulties that lie ahead of us, we must not allow our faith in the Universal Declaration, as an instrument of power and action, to flag. In the course of the past 20 years it has grown in stature with the access of more than 60 countries to independence and membership in the United Nations. It has served as a banner for all persons who have suffered mistreatment or persecution in any form, and for non-religious as well as religious groups everywhere.

But the influence of the Declaration will certainly continue to grow in the years to come, for it is founded on the principle of the unity of mankind and the dignity of the individual person. Though regarded by some as little more than an adjunct to the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights incarnates the moral principles of our time, and as such, stands as a lasting monument towering above national constitutions and the statutes of all international agencies which must now perforce evolve and change.

The birth of the Universal Declaration marks a turning point in world history. No longer can we allow the cries of the oppressed to be stifled by brutality or be lost in a maze of red tape. All the more reason why the court of man's conscience, though besieged by many appeals, must not allow itself to turn a deaf ear to these pleas, and must organize its counter-action with increased vigour.

Now that we possess an instrument capable of lifting or easing the burden of oppression and injustice in the world, we must learn to use it. As two Director-Generals of Unesco, Jaime Torres-Bodet and René Maheu, have said, the Universal Declaration involves the responsibility of all of us and the responsibility of each one of us.

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(1) The author is here referring to the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Individuals can complain about violations of their rights if their countries have ratified another legal instrument adopted at the same time as the two Covenants. This document is known as the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. — Editor.

Photo Unesco

30 QUESTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

1 What are human rights?

Human rights are based on mankind's increasing demand for a decent, civilized life in which the inherent dignity of each human being will receive respect and protection. This idea reaches beyond the comforts and conveniences that science and technology can provide. We do not speak merely of biological needs when we talk about human rights; we mean those conditions of life which allow us fully to develop and use our human qualities of intelligence and conscience and to satisfy our spiritual needs. Human rights are fundamental to our nature; without them, we cannot live as human beings.

To deny human beings their rights is to set the stage for political and social unrest—wars, hostility between nations and between groups within a nation—and leads to urgent demands for a better life in larger freedom. Human rights, far from being an abstract subject for philosophers and lawyers, affect the daily lives of everyone—man, woman and child.

Broadly speaking, two kinds of rights are recognized in the Universal Declaration. First there is the traditional kind, civil and political rights, which gradually evolved over centuries during the long development of democratic society. Then there are economic, social and cultural rights, which started to be recognized more recently when people realized that possession of certain political and civil rights would be valueless without the simultaneous enjoyment of certain rights of an economic, social and cultural character.

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2 What are civil and political rights?

First, we should all have the right to life, liberty and the security of our persons. We must not be held in slavery, or punished in an inhuman or degrading way. All of us should be equal before the law. We must not be arrested or exiled purely because of someone's whim. We should be entitled to a fair hearing if someone charges us with a crime, and we must be presumed innocent until proved guilty.

Our privacy, family , home and correspondence must be protected against arbitrary interference. If we are persecuted, we should be able to seek asylum in another country. We should have the right to a nationality. We should be able to marry and found a family, and our family should be entitled to protection. We should have the right to own property.

Then there are the well-known fundamental freedoms: freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of opinion and expression, and the freedom to join with others in peaceful assembly and association. Also, everyone should have the right to take part in the government of his country, through elections and through equal access with anyone else to jobs in the public service.

3 What are economic and social rights?

They include the right to work, to free choice of jobs, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. Every man or woman should be entitled to the same pay if he or she does the same work. All of us should have the right to rest and leisure. An adequate standard of living is another of our rights, and this means enough food, clothing, housing, medical and social services, and social security. Mothers and children should be entitled to special care and assistance. Everyone should have the right to education, and the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community.

4 Who says these are our rights?

Philosophers and the greatest figures in world history have been stressing and developing the concept of human rights from the beginning of civilized life, and the United Nations has reaffirmed them. All of the political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights mentioned here are set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which the United Nations General Assembly adopted on December 10, 1948, with not a single country voting against.

The Declaration itself states that it is a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, and not a binding set of rules. But the mere fact that the Declaration was solemnly accepted by so many countries of such varying cultural, economic and political backgrounds implies that those countries are ready to promote the rights they have themselves proclaimed. The Declaration has been incorporated in the constitutions of a number of countries and its wording is reflected in many other constitutions.

5 Why doesn't the United Nations go beyond the Declaration and try to write these rights into law?

It has done just that, by drawing up two International Covenants on Human Rights—the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Both of them were adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on December 16, 1966.

Each Covenant will enter into force when 35 states have ratified or acceded to it. The Protocol to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (see question 10) requires 10 ratifications or accessions. As of November 1967, no government had yet ratified or acceded to any of these three instruments. However, 19 states had signed the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 18 had signed the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and eight of these had also signed the Protocol.

Once the Covenants come into effect, they will be legally binding treaties between the states which ratify them. They contain arrangements for international review of how states carry out their obligations under the Covenants.

The Covenants define the various rights more precisely. The article dealing with guarantees for the person charged with a crime lists seven minimum guarantees, including the right to a prompt trial and to legal assistance. A few rights mentioned in the Declaration are not dealt with in the Covenants, while some rights not mentioned in the Declaration are set out in the Covenants—notably, the right of self-determination, the right of all peoples to determine their political status and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

6 Are all of the rights set out in the Covenants to be given effect immediately?

By and large, all of the obligations which a state assumes under the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights are meant to be implemented as soon as that state ratifies the Covenant. The Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, however, states that its provisions are to be carried out progressively. There is a difference between a right such as freedom of thought and expression, which can be put into effect immediately by any country, and a right like the right to education, which requires money, teachers and buildings before everybody can enjoy it.

7 Isn't there too much stress on rights and too little on duties?

Rights and duties are opposite sides of the same coin. When the U.N. or anyone else calls for respect for human rights, they mean not only that *our* rights must be observed but also that we must respect the rights of others.

8 How can the United Nations be sure that all states live up to their promises under the Covenants?

By obliging them to report to an international body on the measures which they have taken and the progress they have made. Both Covenants provide for such a reporting procedure. In the case of the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the United Nations Economic and Social Council is the body which will study these reports. It may rely on the Commission on Human Rights and the specialized agencies of the United Nations for expert assistance. In the case of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, a special Human Rights Committee will be set up to deal with the reports.

9 What happens if two states disagree on whether one of them is fulfilling its obligations?

The Covenant on Civil and Political Rights provides for a special procedure in case such a disagreement should arise. Suppose State A thinks that State B is not allowing an ethnic or religious minority to enjoy its own culture or practise its own religion. If a solution cannot be reached by direct negotiation, State A may contact the Human Rights Committee about the matter, since such minority rights are provided for in the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The Committee may look into the complaint and take it up with State B to try to work out a settlement. If no agreement is worked out, the Committee may report on the facts of the case.

This procedure will apply only between two states which agree in advance to allow the Human Rights Committee to deal with such questions affecting them.

10 Will individuals be able to complain about violations of their rights?

Only if their countries have ratified another legal instrument which the General Assembly adopted at the same

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

Photo © Holmes Lebel - Camera Press

NO ONE SHALL BE HELD IN SERVITUDE

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

— Articles 4 and 5 of the Universal Declaration

time as the two Covenants—the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The procedure under the Protocol works this way: suppose Mr. Smith, who lives in Country A, claims that his right to freedom of expression has been violated by his own Government. If his country is a party to the Protocol and to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and if he has tried without success to obtain satisfaction within his country, Mr. Smith may complain to the Human Rights Committee. The Committee may then take up the complaint and forward its view to the country concerned and to Mr. Smith. The Committee is to report annually to the General Assembly on its activities under the Protocol.

11 Will the United Nations be able to order a country to comply with its human rights obligations?

Each country will have the final say in human rights questions, and no international organ will be able to override the authority of the supreme organs in each state. It is logical and expected, however, that states will find inspiration for their attitudes and actions, as regards the human rights of their nationals, in the standards elaborated by the international community as represented by the United Nations.

12 What use is the international machinery for implementing the Covenants if countries are to have the final say in individual cases?

The main instrument at the disposal of the international community—and it can be a most effective instrument—is exposure to world public opinion. The reporting procedure under the International Covenants is designed to publicize the progress made by each country in achieving human rights, and the obstacles encountered by each country. The conciliation procedure is intended to help countries iron out disagreements in particular cases, and governments will be able to make use of this procedure in the knowledge that, if conciliation fails, an issue which they consider important will be aired before the world. True, the international machinery will be far from all-powerful; but this should not obscure the fact that the implementation of the Covenants will mark a giant step forward in giving effect to international concern about human rights.

13 What other human rights conventions has the United Nations adopted in the past 20 years?

Once the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was proclaimed in 1948, the United Nations immediately set out to adopt treaties on a number of specific rights. These deal with genocide, racial discrimination, refugees, stateless persons, the rights of women, slavery and freedom of information. These conventions are in effect between the states which have become parties to them.

14 What has been done about genocide?

The crimes perpetrated against whole groups of innocent people during the Second World War led the General Assembly, in 1948, to adopt the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Genocide is defined in the Convention as the committing of certain acts with intent to destroy a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. Genocide is characterized as a crime under international law, whether committed in time of peace or of war. Seventy states have become parties to this Convention.

15 What about racial discrimination?

The United Nations has been especially concerned about racial discrimination in recent years and has devoted much of its action to its consideration. Many newly independent countries, with vivid memories of colonialism, have been particularly concerned at the continuance in power of regimes in southern Africa and elsewhere which are based on the dominance of a white minority over a black majority.

In taking political action to try to change the policies of the regimes in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the territories under Portuguese administration, the United Nations is aware that racial discrimination and theories of racial superiority underlie many of the political problems with which it has to deal. The General Assembly has frequently condemned those racial policies.

In 1965, it adopted the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. When states become parties to this Convention, they undertake to pursue without delay a policy of eliminating racial discrimination in all its forms and promoting understanding among all races. The Convention will come into force when 27 states ratify or accede to it. As of October 16, 1967, 16 countries had done so.

One of the most effective ways in which the United Nations can combat racial discrimination is by exposing it to world opinion. The United Nations cannot force governments and peoples to comply with its wishes in this field, but it can bring to their attention the evils and danger of discrimination and suggest ways of eliminating it. This is the objective of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which was commemorated for the first time in 1967.

16 Is the United Nations concerned with other types of discrimination?

Yes. The U.N. Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, set up in 1947, has been studying discriminatory practices based on other grounds than race and colour, including religion and political opinion. The General Assembly took up a draft Convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance at its 1967 session.

Agencies related to the United Nations have also acted against discrimination in their respective fields. Unesco has adopted a Convention against Discrimination in Education. The International Labour Organization (ILO) has approved a Convention concerning Discrimination in Employment and Occupation. Both Conventions call for periodic reports by governments on what they are doing to carry out the provisions. There are also arrangements for settling disputes.

17 What about discrimination against women?

The Commission on the Status of Women prepared a draft Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, which the General Assembly adopted on November 7, 1967. But long before the idea of such a declaration arose, the United Nations began promoting women's rights through a series of measures.

A Convention on the Political Rights of Women, adopted by the General Assembly in 1952, provides that women shall have equal rights with men in voting, election to public bodies and the exercise of public functions. (As late as 1966, while women had equal voting rights with men in 114 countries, they were denied those rights in eight countries.)

A Convention on the Nationality of Married Women, adopted in 1957, provides that a woman's nationality shall not automatically be affected just because she marries a man of another nationality. Another United Nations Convention, adopted in 1962, says that no marriage shall be legal without the full and free consent of both parties, expressed in person.

The U.N. Commission on the Status of Women has sought to encourage the participation of women in vocational, technical and training programmes, it has recommended steps

to promote the access of girls and women to higher education, and it has asked that mothers be given equal rights with fathers in the upbringing of their children.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) and Unesco have also actively promoted women's rights, ILO through a Convention intended to ensure that, when men and women perform equal work, they receive equal pay, and Unesco through its efforts to promote equal access to education for women.

18 What has the United Nations done to help refugees?

Some of the most practical work done by the United Nations in the entire field of human rights is its assistance to refugees. The fate of more than three million victims of war, persecution and other upheavals concerns the United Nations today. Some of these are fed from United Nations rations—mainly, hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees from Palestine, who are cared for by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). Many of these refugees—UNRWA had more than a million on its rolls at the beginning of 1967—are housed, clothed and educated by the Agency, at least in part. A large number of them were displaced for a second time by the Middle East fighting of June 1967.

More than two million refugees elsewhere in the world come under the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The High Commissioner's Office was able to report the closing in 1966 of the last refugee camps in Europe. However, more than half a million new refugees in Africa are outside their home countries, and the High Commissioner is helping to repatriate or resettle them.

19 Is anything being done about the problem of stateless persons in general?

The 1954 Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons sets out the standards of treatment for persons who do not have a nationality of their own. To deal with the problem of reducing future statelessness, the United Nations has adopted a Convention to help people acquire a nationality at birth and limit the circumstances in which they lose a nationality without acquiring another. However this Convention, adopted in 1961, is not yet in force. The complexity and variety of nationality laws makes this a most difficult subject to deal with.

20 What about freedom of information?

The General Assembly has recognized that this freedom is the touchstone of all freedoms. However, efforts to embody in a written text a precise definition of this freedom have not yet been successful. One of the main problems is that different countries have different ideas about the role of the Press in society. Nevertheless, the Assembly keeps the question of freedom of information constantly under review, including proposals for both a declaration and a convention on the subject.

Meanwhile the Assembly has adopted a Convention on the International Right of Correction. This Convention, which came into force in 1962, is designed to enable states to have publicized in another country corrections to news dispatches published in that country which they consider false or distorted. Eight states had become parties to the Convention as of September 21, 1967.

21 What is being done about the rights of the worker?

This subject is the principal concern of ILO, which has adopted more than 250 Conventions and Recommendations, making up an International Labour Code that deals with everything from hours of work and minimum wages to maternity protection, from industrial accidents to night work for women. Among its Conventions is one on the abolition of forced labour and another to protect freedom of association and the right of workers to organize trade unions.

The ILO also gives advice to Governments on ways to ensure that labour standards are adhered to by employers and employees. It has special machinery for considering violations of trade union rights. Almost all of the work of ILO is concerned with safeguarding the human rights of the worker.

22 Does slavery still exist and is it still being fought?

Slavery and practices similar to slavery are still to be found in some parts of the world, and the matter is still actively before the United Nations. The parties to two Conventions on slavery pledge themselves to prevent and suppress the slave trade and bring about the complete abolition of all forms of slavery. One of these Conventions outlaws certain institutions and practices similar to slavery such as debt bondage, serfdom, purchase of brides and exploitation of child labour. Further measures to put an end to slavery are being studied by several United Nations bodies (see page 32).

23 Is special consideration being given to the rights of children?

The rights and well-being of the world's children are the prime concern of one of the best-known United Nations agencies—the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)—which promotes the rights of the child by providing medicine and medical equipment, jeeps and bicycles for public health and community development workers, science kits for pilot schools, tools for vocational training, pipes and pumps for village sanitation, stipends to pay for the training of teachers. UNICEF is the oldest of the post-war United Nations agencies set up to provide direct assistance where it is most needed and still working for the welfare of mankind. To focus the world's attention on goals, the General Assembly in 1959 unanimously adopted a Declaration of the Rights of the Child.

24 What about youth and human rights?

The General Assembly in 1965 adopted by acclamation the Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples. The Declaration sets out the principles which should guide not only young people but also the adults who are concerned with their education and welfare to develop attachment to the ideals of peace, liberty and the dignity and equality of all men, and stresses the role of the family in achieving these aims.

25 What about the right to education?

In a world where almost one child in two grows up without any education because schools are lacking, and where four out of ten adults cannot read or write, a massive effort is needed to give substance to the right to education. Unesco is helping the developing countries to plan their educational programmes, train teachers, build inexpensive schools, modernize their curricula and produce good textbooks.

In 1965, Unesco launched an international literacy campaign. With funds supplied by the United Nations Development Programme and by the governments concerned, six major pilot literacy projects are now under way. The Director-General of Unesco has proposed that the world

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set itself a target: to wipe out illiteracy, and assure every child at least six years of education by the end of the century.

26 Do means already exist for individuals to complain to the United Nations if they consider their rights have been violated?

The United Nations receives many complaints from individuals and groups alleging violations of human rights. However, it can take little action on such complaints. These communications are made available every year, for information purposes and on a confidential basis, to the Human Rights Commission and its Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. Specific complaints are brought to the attention of the Governments concerned. There is a special procedure for dealing with petitions from individuals or groups concerning conditions in United Nations Trust Territories.

27 What does the work of the U.N. Trusteeship Council and the Committee on the ending of colonialism have to do with human rights?

The Trusteeship Council, in overseeing the administration of Trust Territories, looks into political, economic, social and educational conditions in each one of them. It may call for greater participation by the local people in government, more job opportunities, improved welfare schemes of better schools—all concerned with human rights.

There are three Trust Territories left—Nauru, New Guinea and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Once there were eleven; the eight others have already attained the main goal of the Trusteeship System—independence or self-government. In a number of cases, this came about as a result of referenda supervised by the United Nations.

Implementing the right of self-determination is the main concern of the Committee on the ending of colonialism. The Committee may call for general elections with universal adult suffrage, the handing over of powers to an elected government, the holding of a constitutional convention, the organization of a referendum, or the granting of independence by a certain date.

28 What is being done to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?

The General Assembly has designated 1968 as International Year for Human Rights. Many activities, ceremonies and observances have been planned by the United Nations, by regional organizations, by national governments and by private organizations.

But the General Assembly wants the occasion to be much more than a celebration of past events. It has suggested that 1968 be devoted to national and international efforts in the field of human rights and also to an international review of achievements in this field. Specifically, it asked that states become parties to the existing human rights conventions and it decided to hasten the conclusion of other such instruments.

In April 1968, a world-wide meeting, the United Nations International Conference on Human Rights, will be held in Teheran, Iran, to review progress since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted in 1948. It will evaluate the effectiveness of the methods used by the United Nations in the field of human rights, and prepare a programme of further measures to be taken after 1968.

29 How will the U.N.'s human rights activities develop in future?

First, the coming into force of the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and of the International Covenants on Human Rights, when enough states ratify them, will bring into existence new international machinery and confer new responsibilities on existing United Nations bodies.

Second, besides the important advances in setting human rights standards, significant steps are being taken to enable the United Nations to play a role complementary to that of governments in extending respect for human rights and in preventing gross violations. Recent decisions of the Economic and Social Council permit a study by the Commission on Human Rights of situations that reveal consistent violations of human rights, such as policies of apartheid and racial discrimination. The General Assembly is studying a proposal to appoint a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (see page 26).

This resurgence of activity in the promotion and defence of human rights, coupled with the reassessment of United Nations work in this field during 1968, could lead to ever-greater responsibilities for the international community in the protection and promotion of human rights. Whether the United Nations will, in fact, be given this wider role depends on the decisions of the governments and the support of peoples.

30 What can the individual do?

The first duty of the individual citizen with regard to human rights may seem so simple and obvious that many of us neglect it: it is to understand what our human rights are, so that when they are violated, we can recognize the act as a violation.

To take one example: when a youth of obvious ability is unable to go to college because he lacks the financial means, our reaction may be no more than mild sympathy. When we recognize, however, that such a situation may be contrary to the principle that higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit, as proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we may take a more serious view of the situation and try to find remedies.

Once we understand our rights, our next responsibility is to promote them—for others as well as for ourselves. And that responsibility begins with the people around us, for it is in our local communities that we have most influence. Acting on our own and in concert with others in non-governmental organizations, we can remedy human rights violations and promote respect for rights at home. We can each strive to enable our own countries to set a good example for the rest of the world. And we can learn from the experiences of others by reading about what other countries are doing to promote human rights for their own peoples.

The problem of protecting and promoting human rights, in the broadest sense, is the main concern of the United Nations. Since rights cannot be enjoyed fully if a person cannot earn a living and feed a family, all of the economic and social development programmes of the international community are essentially programmes to advance human rights. Since a person cannot be free if the nation to which he or she belongs is not allowed to decide its own destiny through the exercise of the right to self-determination, the efforts of the United Nations to promote the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples are basically human rights efforts.

Our world consists of diverse political ideologies and racial origins, various religious beliefs and different degrees of economic development. When, out of this diversity, we develop common standards of human rights and respect for human dignity everywhere, we create a profound bond between men which is essential for maintaining peaceful relations among nations and for fruitful economic, social and cultural co-operation.

These 30 questions on human rights are taken from "The United Nations and the Human Person — Questions and Answers on Human Rights", a U.N. pamphlet to be published this year in English, French and Spanish.

Photo WHO - Paul Almasy

THE RIGHT TO WELL-BEING

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services...

— Article 25 of the Universal Declaration

UNESCO AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The purpose of Unesco, according to its Constitution, is "to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion..."

Accordingly, all Unesco programmes are drawn up with these supreme aims in view. In all sectors of its activity — be it education or the natural sciences, social and human sciences or culture and communication — Unesco's ultimate purpose is founded on the defence of Human Rights which is indissolubly linked with the defence of Peace.

Even those Unesco activities which are not aimed specifically and explicitly at fostering one aspect of human rights or human rights in general, nevertheless serve to create the material and intellectual, the moral and cultural conditions which are indispensable if human rights are to become a living reality for all human beings and not just principles and aspirations.

Unesco further believes that economic and social development must be viewed as the achievement of those conditions that are essential to the full exercise of human rights.

Education indirectly serves the cause of human rights as a sine qua non of development, and promotes human rights directly by endowing every human being with the faculties all men need in order to exercise and draw benefit from these rights. Education, moreover, is one of the basic rights specifically proclaimed in the Universal Declaration.

Modern scientific advances, adapted to the needs of development, are radically transforming the material conditions of life today, and should make it easier now to provide for man's everyday needs by increasing government resources and thereby help to reduce many of the difficulties that now hamper the achievement of economic, social and cultural rights in many countries.

Moreover, as modern science and technology transform the face of our planet and the conditions of life of its inhabitants, an understanding of science and the scientific approach becomes a fundamental right for everyone. An initiation into science is indeed indispensable if man is to understand his world and his place within it, and to assess his own potentialities and limitations.

The spread of culture, universal access to the literary and artistic masterpieces of all peoples, helps to promote mutual understanding and a keener awareness of man's universal heritage with its rich diversity of cultural treasures. Hence the immense value of cultural exchanges in fostering international understanding and friendship.

Radio, television, films, newspapers, indeed, all the modern means of communication are essential in promoting human rights, and are specifically referred to in Article 19: "Everyone has the right to... receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

For a full report on Unesco's work on behalf of human rights the reader is referred to a study prepared by the Director-General of Unesco for the International Conference on Human Rights convened by the United Nations in Teheran in April.

Unesco has striven to create or improve mass media channels in countries where they are most needed. Of course, the mass media can be used to publicize all the human rights and the related principles laid down by the United Nations.

The aid of the social sciences is often enlisted in the struggle to eradicate discrimination and racial or religious prejudices. These sciences facilitate the study and analysis of the ideas which men may have concerning their rights; and they can also help to overcome problems that arise in securing certain rights, when local traditions and differing economic and social conditions must be taken into account.

Thus, as much by its nature and the fields in which it operates as by its aims and objectives, Unesco's entire activity is designed to promote the whole range of human rights.

'ONLY THE EDUCATED ARE FREE'

— EPICTETUS

by Louis François

THE road from the proclamation of the right to education to its achievement is long, arduous and beset with obstacles of all kinds. Progress has been slower and more difficult than was foreseen. After 20 years of effort, many nations are still striving to attain the goal of education for all. And it still seems remote, even to those which have made the greatest headway. Indeed, it is constantly receding in the changing world in which we live.

Let us look at some of the problems created by the population explosion—the Demographic Revolution as it is often called. World population reached 3,000 million in 1960; it may exceed 4,000 million by 1980 and will be close to 6,000 million by the year 2000. In the forefront of this surging population increase are the developing countries. Latin America and Africa have the highest percentage of population increase and are slightly ahead of Asia, for which complete statistics are not always available.

North America and the U.S.S.R. have a rate of increase double that of Europe, which puts them close behind Latin America and Africa. But the truly significant fact is that the developing countries, which have the great-

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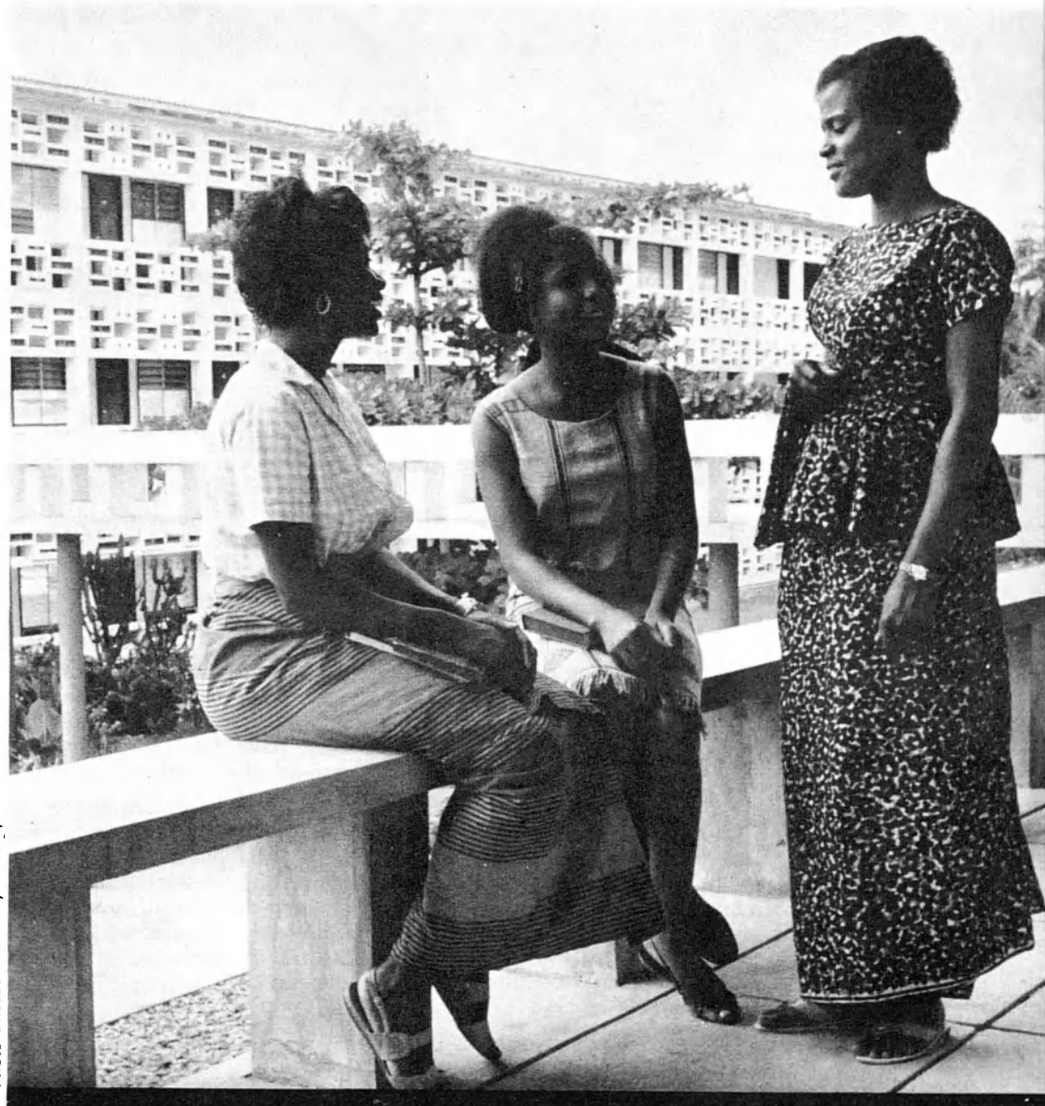

Photo Unesco - Almasy-Vauthey

THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION

Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit...

— Article 26 of the Universal Declaration

LOUIS FRANÇOIS *is Inspector General of Public Education in France and vice-chairman of the French National Commission for Unesco. In the research he has carried out into the problems of education in the world today, he has given special attention to the promotion of international understanding and the teaching of citizenship in history and geography.*

A global target: every child in school by 1980

est needs in education, now comprise two-thirds of the world's population, and according to present estimates will account for 70 per cent in 1980 and nearly 75 per cent by the year 2000. Moreover, as world population increases, its average age decreases.

Thus the first obstacle that education must overcome is one of quantity. The first task of any Minister of Education is to provide enough schools and teachers for the rapidly-increasing mass of young people.

The developing countries

Needless to say, the countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia did not wait for the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights before dealing with their educational problems. All of them, whether independent states or colonial territories, have long had educational policies and programmes.

But only a certain number of the children in each age group was being enrolled in school each year so that despite efforts to extend education, the educated section of the population actually diminished in proportion to the far larger mass of uneducated citizens. The situation was comparable to that of a ship moving at a speed of eight knots against a current flowing at twelve knots and thus being pushed back.

During the last ten years this movement has been reversed. The ship now seems to be equipped with a motor powerful enough to overcome the current. The rate of school enrolment is increasing more rapidly than that of corresponding age groups. The number of teachers is also rising though at a slightly lower rate, which poses the question, "Can teaching standards be maintained?"

At regional conferences organized by Unesco, developing countries have set the goals they wish to attain by 1980. The conference at Addis Ababa in 1961, concerned with Africa's educational problems, fixed the enrolment target for primary education at 100 per cent, for secondary education at 23 per cent, and for higher education at 2 per cent (1).

The Latin American countries have been independent for 150 years. They have absorbed a large number of Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking immigrants from Europe. And for ten years they have been helped by Unesco's Major Project, designed to extend and improve primary education in Latin America. Greater educational progress has thus been made in this continent than in the other developing regions.

But progress in primary education has been far from uniform. Bolivia with an enrolment of 40 per cent and Brazil with 50 per cent obviously still have far to go. Other countries—Colombia, where enrolment increased from 42 per cent in 1950 to 80 per cent in 1965; Panama with 85 per cent, Uruguay and Argentina with 95 per cent and Trinidad and Tobago with 97 per cent—have fewer difficulties to overcome.

While enrolment in primary schools manages more or less to keep pace with the general growth of population, far more rapid progress has been made in secondary and higher education, because of efforts being made to train supervisors and highly skilled workers and to create a more balanced society.

An admirable feature of education in Latin America is the absence of any discrimination based on sex, race or religion. On the other hand economic and social conditions, favourable to a small minority, but a crushing burden to the rest, have far-reaching effects on the spread of education.

These conditions are responsible for many of the obstacles limiting access to education: the low level of economic development, the limited means of many families, the lack of national resources, a widely-dispersed population and a disdain for technical and vocational education.

(1) Primary education is considered here as elementary education for children between 6-7 and 11-12 years of age, secondary education as general or technical education for the 11-12 to 18-19 age group; and higher education as that given in universities and technical institutes to students between 19 and 25 years of age.

LATIN AMERICA IN 1965	*Enrolment rate by age-group*	*Annual rate of increase*
Higher education	3 %	6 %
Secondary education	18 %	13 %
Primary education	80 %	4.5 %

South and South-East Asia, stretching from Iran to Indonesia and the Philippines, comprise vast sparsely-populated territories and some of the world's most densely populated areas. Here live 25 per cent of the world's inhabitants, 565 million of them in India and Pakistan, interlocked in the Indian sub-continent. In India alone 12 million children are born each year, and schools and teachers for them will have to be provided in the near future.

In this part of the world, 54 million children were going to school in 1950; by 1960, 92 million. Yet this enormous figure represents less than half of the school-age population of the region. School enrolments had then reached 90 per cent in Malaysia, 75 per cent in Ceylon and the Philippines, 50 per cent in Viet Nam, 45 per cent in Indonesia, 40 per cent in India, 35 per cent in Iran, 25 per cent in Pakistan, 15 per cent in Nepal and 7 per cent in Afghanistan. In the schools of India and Pakistan boys outnumbered girls three to one.

Meeting under Unesco's auspices at Karachi (Pakistan) in 1960 (2), all these countries adopted the Karachi Plan, as it came to be called, whose aim is to provide at least seven years of free and compulsory education for all children before 1980. The number of teachers will increase threefold and the average cost of education per child will rise from $8.00 to $20.00 a year (it will still be only one quarter of today's per capita cost of primary education in some developed countries).

Secondary and higher education will also need to be vastly expanded to provide more teachers, and also to train skilled personnel for the economic development programmes that are vital to the success of the Karachi Plan. A radical change of emphasis in education is also called for. Today, ten million students in South and South-East Asia receive a general education while only one million take technical and vocational training courses. Indian universities each year turn out 116,000 arts graduates and 25,000 in law, but only 8,000 in the sciences, 5,000 in engineering and 4,000 in agriculture.

The Karachi Plan is imaginative and far-reaching. But educational expan-

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(2) That year, the General Conference of Unesco unanimously adopted a Convention and an International Recommendation concerning discrimination in education. These aim to promote equality of opportunity and treatment for all in education, and to abolish discrimination based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic condition or birth. As of December 1967, 39 states were parties to the Unesco Convention.

Photo © Pierre Allard

TOUCHSTONE OF LEARNING

High up in the Peruvian Andes, 3500 metres (11,500 feet) above sea-level, is to be found one of the few surviving settlements of Quero Indians. Here 250 people eke out a living under conditions of extreme hardship. Their diet consists almost exclusively of potatoes, maize and llama fat. One of the major preoccupations of these simple mountain folk, who spend their days tending their herds of llamas, vicunas and alpacas is the education of their children: they have rebuilt a ruined farmhouse and turned it into a school. Here, a villager carries a huge stone to the school building site.

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TOUCHSTONE OF LEARNING

(Continued from page 17)

All able-bodied men of the village lend a hand to set up the wooden framework for the roof of the new school (top right), then to cover it with thatch from their alpine pastures (top left). At work in their improvised classroom (left), the children are a model of concentration as they take down their lessons. Their teacher, dispatched from far-off Lima by the Peruvian Government, spends nine months of each year in the remote settlement. These Andean people are a tightly-knit democratic community. At right, clad in the traditional hand-woven " poncho ", villagers meet to elect their leaders.

Photos © Pierre Allard

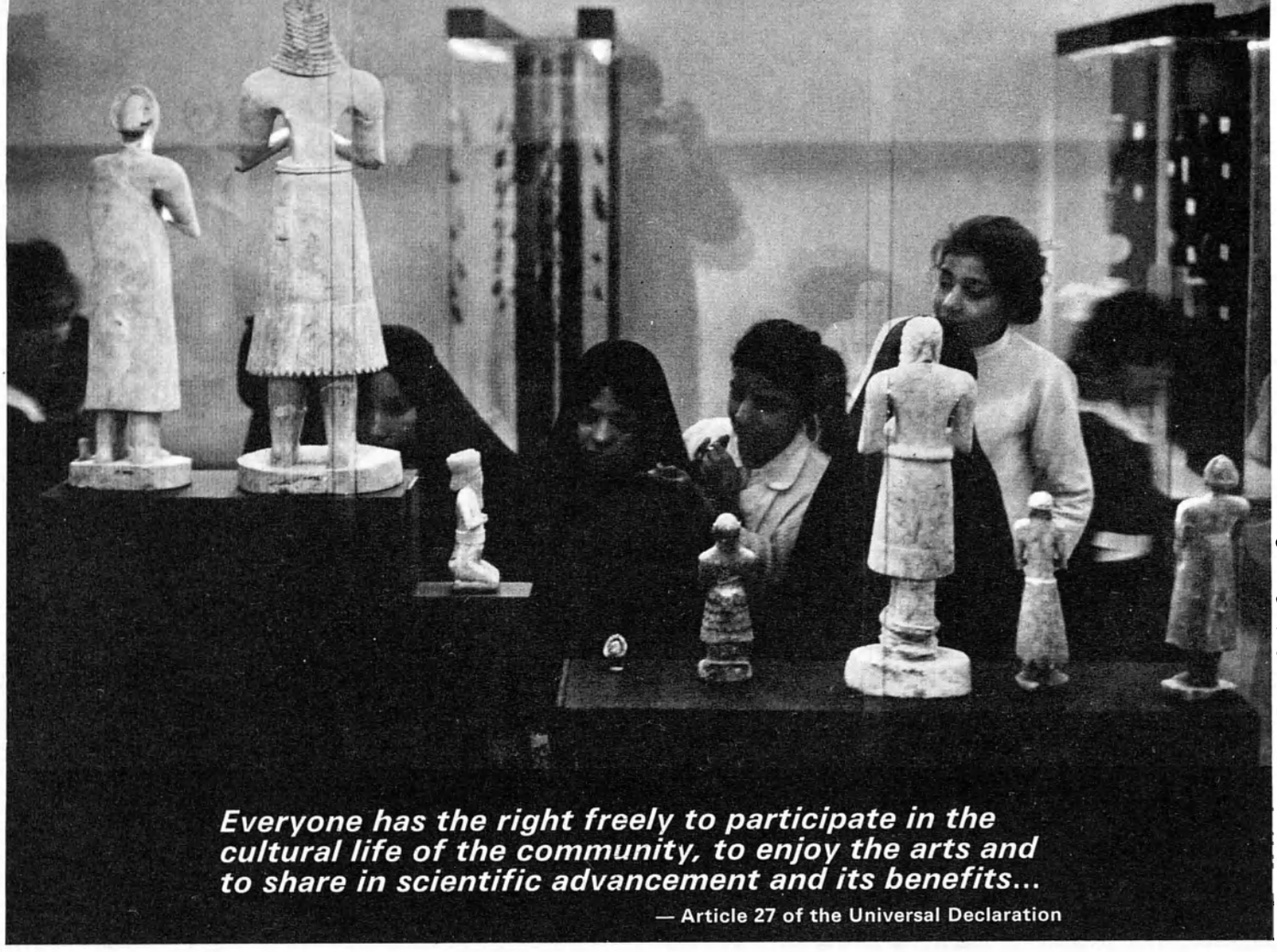

Photo Rapho © Dr Georg Gerster

'ONLY THE EDUCATED ARE FREE' *(Continued from page 16)*

Can education outpace the population explosion ?

sion will have difficulty in keeping up with the runaway growth of population in these regions.

There was no delay in putting the plan into operation. Between 1960 and 1965 school enrolment rose rapidly to over 30 million. The rates are still rising everywhere: they have reached 80 per cent in India, 67 per cent in Viet Nam, in spite of the war, 42 per cent in Iran, and 14 per cent in Afghanistan, although this country fears that by 1980 it may be only half way to attaining the targets set at Karachi.

A special effort is being made in rural areas to render education more accessible to girls and to provide technical education. But funds are still too limited to make good the lack of buildings, textbooks and audio-visual teaching equipment.

Between 1965 and 1970 places will have to be found for a further 40 million children in primary schools, 12 million more in secondary schools and one million more students in universities and institutes of higher education. Over 1,154,000 more primary teachers and 250,000 more secondary teachers will be needed. These figures speak for themselves.

In the Arab countries, great progress has been made. Between 1960 and 1966 the population rose from 92 million to 105 million while the school and university population increased from 8 million to 12 million. Against an annual rate of population growth of 2.5 per cent, that of school enrolments is nearing 10 per cent.

However, it is estimated that 8 million children are not yet in school. The Arab countries have a very high proportion of young people: those under 20 account for 50 per cent of the population and those between 5 and 11 years of age for 17 per cent. In European countries the corresponding proportions are 30 per cent and 11 per cent.

Educational development throughout the region is still uneven. Country children are less well provided for than those in cities. Girls are still in the minority in the classroom (1 in 3 in primary schools, 1 in 4 in secondary schools and 1 in 5 in institutes of higher education). There are no special arrangements for handicapped children. Either they attend ordinary classes (with scant benefit) or they remain illiterate. Too few technical and vocational courses are provided in secondary schools (only enough for 1 pupil out of 8 today). And education in general is badly handicapped by a

PROGRESS IN THE ARAB COUNTRIES	1960	1966	Annual rate of increase
Higher Education	145,000 students	250,000 students	14 %
Technical and vocational education	187,000 pupils	237,000 pupils	7 %
General secondary education	920,000 pupils	1,630,000 pupils	12 %
Primary education	6,300,000 pupils	9,700,000 pupils	9 %

lack of buildings, equipment and teachers, although the teacher shortage is now being offset to some extent by the recruitment of teachers from other countries.

The Arab countries' main sources of income are agriculture and oil. Land reform and the improvement of agricultural methods, the development of new resources and, in particular, the expansion and modernization of industry will depend to a large extent on the education received by young people at all levels. Increasingly, the educated woman becomes the most effective factor in the promotion of children's education. Here, as elsewhere, the worth of the individual as the means and the end in all things, is the core and driving force in economic development.

Africa, or almost all of Africa, is now independent, after entering the international scene in 1960. The year 1960 was indeed a crucial one. The newly independent states faced immense tasks in education. The average rate of school enrolment in the African countries as a whole was only 16 per cent, varying between 2 per cent and 60 per cent from one country to another. In most countries, 4 out of 5 children were not in school; girls accounted for less than 30 per cent of primary school enrolments and less than 22 per cent in the case of secondary schools. In some countries not even one girl out of 10 was in school.

AMONG the states which had emerged from the French Community, Cameroon, in 1960, led in terms of primary school enrolment. The coastal states of the Gulf of Guinea, which were the most prosperous, had more firmly-established educational systems than the less populated states to the north. Mali for instance had only one technical college with 600 places and a single *lycée*. The few pupils who obtained their *baccalauréat* (secondary leaving certificate) from this school were the only likely candidates for positions of responsibility in a state with a population of 4,500,000 and covering an area of 1,200,000 square kilometres (480,000 square miles).

At the 1961 Unesco-sponsored Conference of Ministers of Education of the African States in Addis-Ababa, the whole of Africa, from the countries of tropical Africa south of the Sahara to those of North Africa, met and took decisions similar to those made at Karachi States undertook to achieve the following targets over the next twenty years:

- six years of free and compulsory primary education, given by qualified teachers;
- secondary education comprising two cycles of three years, from which 30 per cent of primary school pupils would benefit;
- higher education for 20 per cent of secondary school pupils, which would enable 9 African students out of 10 to study in Africa instead of abroad;
- complete equality of access to education between boys and girls.

Since then, progress has been rapid and impressive. Between 1960 and 1965, primary school enrolment increased from 7 per cent to 20 per cent in Mali, from 14 per cent to 21 per cent in Chad, from 24 per cent to 52 per cent in Senegal, and from 29 per cent to 60 per cent in Togo.

Nigeria has extended primary education in its southern provinces. In Algerian schools there are now almost as many girls as boys; and in those of Somalia, there is one girl for every three boys.

An even greater effort has been made in secondary education. In Senegal, for example, where primary school enrolments have doubled, those in secondary schools have risen nearly threefold—from 9,000 to 24,000 (though so far only 2,500 in technical schools).

As we have seen, all the developing countries—from Latin America to South Asia—face the same problems, are fired by identical aspirations and have launched similar projects. They are developing compulsory primary education and extending it from 4 years to 7 or 8; they are reinforcing secondary education and creating institutions of higher education to train specialists and technicians for future programmes of development.

To achieve all this they will have to enrol, between 1965 and 1970, a further 52 million children in primary schools, 15 million in secondary schools and 1,500,000 students in the universities. They will also need to train a further 2,500,000 primary teachers and nearly 1,000,000 secondary teachers.

Everywhere, education is struggling to keep ahead of the steeply rising population. Two major obstacles are slowing down the rate of progress: shortage of funds and shortage of teachers. Even if some countries were to devote the whole of their national budgets to education, they would still be unable to provide universal schooling for their children.

MANY countries are obliged to recruit foreign teachers. Mali employs teachers from France, the U S S.R., the U.K., the U.S A., Canada, the United Arab Republic, Israel and Viet Nam. Some 1,700 of Morocco's 27,000 primary teachers, 4,340 of its 7,120 secondary teachers and 279 of its 450 teachers in higher education have come from other countries. In Senegal, only 9 per cent of the teachers are Senegalese. In Uganda, Kenya, Somalia and Cambodia, the great majority of secondary school-teachers have come from abroad.

In their efforts to deal with the rise in school enrolment, the developing countries clearly need international assistance and technical co-operation, especially during the difficult initial period of newly-launched educational programmes.

Through their own efforts and with the help of the international community, the developing countries hope to build up a complete, sound and efficient educational system by the end of the 20th century, thereby making the Right to Education a reality for their citizens.

The economically developed countries

Requests by the developing countries for funds and specialists have become more pressing at the very time when the economically-developed countries themselves are at grips with the problem of rising school populations.

These countries have of course long possessed well organized educational systems and their resources in teaching staff are, relatively speaking, very great. However, the astounding increase in the number of school-age children—the "education explosion" as it has been called— has shaken the existing educational systems, threatening the soundest and giving rise to demands for a reappraisal even of those which have long proved their worth.

An educational revolution is taking place in these apparently stable countries. Among other developments:

- Primary school enrolments have increased at a normal rate, following an increase in the birth rate and the raising of the school-leaving age;
- Secondary school enrolments have everywhere expanded considerably, owing to the combined effects of three factors: the birth-rate increase; the raising of the school-leaving age to 15 and even 16 years; and, above all, the voluntary extension of schooling (see tables on primary and secondary school enrolment, page 31).

It has now become almost routine for all children to go on from the primary school to the first stage of secondary education. Increasingly parents have the means and the desire to keep their children at school for a secondary education, since school-leaving and technical training certificates will give them a better start in life.

- Higher education too is in the pro-

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WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF RACE

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status...

— Article 2 of the Universal Declaration

THE UBIQUITOUS SHADOW OF RACISM

by John Rex

DESPITE the defeat of the Nazis and their allies and the setting up of the United Nations Organization in 1945, racism continues to haunt the world today. Men are denied employment, housing and educational opportunities because of their skin colour; some rich countries still have racial immigration laws to keep out

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JOHN REX, *professor of Social Theory and Institutions at the University of Durham, England, has been concerned with racial questions for many years, and in particular the problems of racial prejudice and the integration of minorities in large metropolises. He has written widely on these matters and is the author, with R.S. Moore, of "Race, Community and Conflict", just published for the Institute of Race Relations by Oxford University Press, London, 1967.*

Photo © Hallwag - Marianne Sin-Pfältzer; from "Fred und Peter", Ed. Hallwag, Berne and Stuttgart, 1966

immigrants from poorer and hungrier lands; political leaders are imprisoned for life for demanding that all races should have the same political rights; and even in the cities of the affluent Western world the Negro ghettoes burn, signalling to the world the blank despair of their inhabitants.

The most striking instance of racism in the world today is that of the system of Apartheid in South Africa. Apartheid is not as some people may still imagine a serious attempt to provide equal though separate facilities for all races. It is segregation carried through by men with white skins to their own advantage and to the disadvantage of the black and coloured populations.

Its viciousness lies not solely in the fact that different "races" must live in different areas, but far more in the fact that the areas assigned to the non-White groups are the overcrowded and eroded parts of the countryside. Inevitably those assigned to living there would face starvation unless they went as migrants and transients to seek work in the White areas. So what the theory of Apartheid means is this: that black men will work for white so long as political power lies where it does.

Such a system as this is the product of conquest and of the monopoly of political power by a conquering group. The conquerors seize upon the fact of skin colour in order to imply that the inequality which they have created is given by Nature, that it is the inevitable consequence of biological differences, or even that it is the will of God.

Such a political system could have been established in many parts of the colonial world, but the process of decolonization set in train by the victory of 1945 and assisted by United Nations action succeeded in many countries in opening equal opportunities to all. Hence today we see many cases where those who govern a newly independent country are the children of peasants or of political prisoners.

But where White supremacy and Apartheid prevail, coloured people must either accept their inferior lot or be condemned for life to an island prison. A similar future is inevitable in other countries if their present political leaders establish governments

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THE RIGHT TO HUMAN DIGNITY

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

— Article 22 of the Universal Declaration

Photo © Rapho - Janine Niépce

THE SHADOW OF RACISM *(Continued)*

Wiping out discrimination— first step to exploding racist theories

based upon inequality of political rights between races.

But racism and its social consequences are evident not only in the former colonial territories. They are an ever present feature of the life of advanced industrial countries. Increasingly in some at least of these countries the traditional political issues pale into insignificance beside the problem of racial inequality and men's attempt to fight against it.

Inevitably in the post 1945 world, with the advanced countries of Europe and North America undergoing a period of unparalleled economic prosperity, immigrants have come to their cities from the poorer countries, from the rural areas and from the areas where the old slave plantations were.

There is much evidence to suggest that this migration has not represented an uncontrolled and uncontrollable flood, for the immigrants have exercised their own immigration control by going where the jobs are. Nevertheless this is precisely how this immigration has been perceived in the countries concerned and they have reacted by throwing up barriers either to immigration itself or to full equality of opportunity for the immigrant in fields such as housing or employment.

Such barriers may not have an explicitly racial form. They may affect all newcomers. But there can be little doubt that coloured people are most affected by them and that the discrimination involved is widely thought to be based upon colour and race.

Hence what we see is the segregation of coloured people in squalid lodging houses if not by themselves, together with the down and outs and outcasts of the host society, as well as a denial of equal employment opportunities so that the coloured unemployment rate is often several times as high as that for the society as a whole. Such trends as these are only amplified as increasing technological progress ensures that those who do have good jobs are better housed and better paid than they have ever been before.

A majority in these circumstances can fight for justice and equality through the ballot box. For a minority the problem is more difficult. They may appeal to the courts, and this they have sometimes done with success. But where law is inadequate in scope or too tardy in redressing grievances there seems to have been no alternative open but riot, lawlessness, and civil disobedience.

In Europe's history the main themes of political change have centred on the struggle of classes, and Europeans, interpreting the politics of the colonial world, have tended to see there a retelling of their own story.

The most striking fact of the world today is that colonial people and coloured people reject these interpretations. They note that discrimination and inequality are not the lot of the employed classes as such, but spe-

cifically of the colonial and coloured workers.

Less and less are they willing to accept advice which tells them that their problems are not racial ones or that they should throw in their lot with the international working class. Instead they set alongside Europe's theories of political change, of increasing equality and welfare being achieved through working class action, their own theories of Black Power or the Colonial Revolution.

A number of recent writers have seen the divisions which are arising in the world in these terms. New divisions are opening up and new alliances are being formed. On a world scale we have the sense of what Marx saw within the nation state in the nineteenth century: the division of men into "two great warring camps". But the camps are no longer the camps of social and economic class. The "war" which we face threatens to be a race war.

In this headlong rush to disaster those who oppose racism must oppose it at its roots. They have, of course, to expose its untruth and its fallacy, but this of itself is not enough. It is necessary to find ways of protecting people against discrimination and it is necessary to understand the social and psychological causes which lead to false racial beliefs having the wide acceptance which they do. These are problems to which social scientists as well as the United Nations specialized agencies should be addressing themselves.

The declaration by biologists meeting under the auspices of Unesco in Moscow in 1964 did much to ensure that racist theories were denied any kind of scientific support. The consensus amongst biologists is now perfectly clear and it amounts to this: the inequalities which we observe in the world today do not arise from the different genetic inheritance of men. Men are not unequal because they were born unequal. And this being so, the justice or injustice of existing inequalities is not a closed question. It is a legitimate subject of political debate.

In the fight against racism the Moscow declaration of the biologists should be used to maximum effect. Schools and the mass media can be used to ensure that the facts about the biology of race are known. Unfortunately they can also be used to opposite effect as well and the problem here is the one which always faces those who hope for reform through education. Who is to educate the educators? Clearly Unesco must do whatever it can to see to it that those who teach, either through the schools or through the media, are thoroughly educated.

Those who wish to secure justice and the elimination of racist practice cannot wait however until the whole population is educated. Nor can they await a universal "change of heart". It is precisely this notion, namely that the ending of racism requires a universal change of heart, which is used to justify its continuance. So long as there are people being deprived of a fair opportunity in life, it should be the duty of any government which truly opposes racism, to use its power to make law to prevent and to punish all acts of a racist kind.

NO ONE with any experience of legislation against racial discrimination imagines that it can be legislated out of existence. Most usually the racist finds loopholes in the law, or he proceeds to discriminate on grounds which are not overtly racist (e.g. he argues that the deprived group is uneducated or has unacceptable cultural standards). Nonetheless law itself has an educative role and the effect of only a few court cases on public opinion, especially among those who have no strong racist views, can be considerable.

It is precisely where law fails that the deprived and underprivileged are likely to take the law into their own hands. Urban riots and theories like that of Black Power are, more than anything else, assertions that the law has failed in its responsibilities. The end to violence and lawlessness can lie only in the law doing what violence claimed to do, namely to guarantee the rights of the individual.

Finally, however, racism must be fought not merely by protecting people from the consequences of racist acts, but by eliminating those social situations which cause racism. For if we fail to do this the likelihood is that it will only re-emerge in a disguised form. The real hope in the fight against racism lies precisely in the fact that something can be done to deal with the problem at its roots.

There is no evidence that racist behaviour itself has any kind of hereditary roots. It is true that it is associated in its extreme form with pathological personality characteristics and there is scope here for action by psychiatrists in eliminating it. But the fact is that the majority of those who are susceptible to racist propaganda are not sick or disturbed people in this sense. The main problem which we have to face is how racism arises in this group and how it can be stopped.

What sociologists have shown from the time of Gunnar Myrdal's great study of the American Negro onwards is that once discrimination starts, the man who is discriminated against is in fact in an inferior position and that this inferiority is used as proof of racist theory.

The problem then is to nip racism in the bud by eliminating discrimination itself. Thus discrimination in housing leads to the coloured man living in inferior conditions. These conditions are then used as a reason for not allowing him to move into better houses. The only answer to this problem is to stop the discrimination and by ensuring that all men have adequate housing remove from the public mind the image of the coloured man as a natural slum dweller.

If the social roots of racism are understood in this way there will be less chance of the development of new instances of political regimes based upon theories of racial supremacy. This is the task to which most of us must now address ourselves, a defensive task to prevent racism from winning new victories. It is a task of mobilizing understanding and goodwill wherever we can find it, in unofficial as well as in governmental quarters.

This is the least we can do. Not to do it means that the world will drift more and more towards the situation of two great warring racial camps. But if we can do it and, as it were, hold the line where it is, it may yet be possible to go on to deal with the most serious problems of all, to find the means of dealing with those cases where governments themselves are racist beyond redemption and where international sanctions have to be employed to bring them into line with the moral standards of the twentieth century.

THE NEW FRONTIERS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

by Sean MacBride

THE Universal Declaration is, and remains, the most important instrument and landmark in the recent history of mankind. It is the Charter of liberty of the oppressed and downtrodden. It defines the limits which the all-mighty state machine should not transgress in its dealings with those whom it rules. And, from the lawyer's point of view, most important of all, it proclaims that the rights of human beings "should be protected by the Rule of Law".

The Universal Declaration is no abstract statement of general principles; it is specific and detailed. Many of its provisions have now been embodied in national constitutions and have been used for purposes of judicial interpretation in different jurisdictions. It has received repeated confirmation in numerous international conventions. The unanimous decision of the General Assembly to mark its twentieth anniversary by the International Year for Human Rights is in itself a positive act of confirmation of its provisions.

Indeed, there is a growing view among international lawyers that some of its provisions, which are justiciable, now form part of customary international law; this conforms with what the often forgotten Hague Convention of 1907 describes as:

"... the law of nations, derived from the usages established among civilized peoples, from the laws of humanity and from the dictates of the public conscience."

The Universal Declaration does now represent in written form the basis for the law of nations, the laws of humanity and the dictates of the public conscience as accepted in the twentieth century.

AS is fitting, the United Nations does not regard 1968 as being merely an occasion for paying empty lip-service in grandiloquent speeches to the Universal Declaration or to the achievements of the United Nations in the field of Human Rights If the International Year for Human Rights is to have any real meaning, it must be a stock-taking of the extent to which the principles enunciated by the Universal Declaration are applied in practice at the national, regional and international level. In this view all the international non-governmental organizations involved in the field of human rights, concur fully. Action in 1968, and a programme for action in the immediate future must emerge; new targets must be shaped and new frontiers must be breached.

It is, of course, in the field of the practical application of the provisions of the Universal Declaration that the efforts should be concentrated; what we term *implementation*. In protecting human rights, it is not sufficient to enunciate the rights involved: it is essential to provide a remedy readily accessible to those affected. In curbing cruelty and crimes against humanity it is not sufficient to deplore them; it is essential to pass judgment and if necessary outlaw the individuals responsible.

At national level, first priority must be given to the provision of domestic judicial machinery to ensure the effective protection of all the rights enunciated in the Universal Declaration; such judicial protection to be effective must be exercised by an independent and objective judiciary not subject to political pressures, and not the object of political patronage.

However, experience unfortunately has shown that purely domestic remedies are not always adequate. In times of political turmoil or ideological passion, governments, and even judges, readily impose their views without regard to the rights of the individual or of minorities. With the continued advance of technocracy bureaucrats also, in many countries, tend to ride roughshod over the rights of those they dominate. For these reasons, it has been found that international supervision of the mechanism for the protection of human rights is essential. This can be provided at regional inter-

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SEAN MACBRIDE, *of the Republic of Ireland, is chairman of the International Committee of Non-Governmental Organizations for Human Rights Year. An eminent international jurist, he was president of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (1949-50) and has been a sponsor and signatory of a number of international treaties, including the Geneva Convention for the Protection of War Victims (1949) and the European Convention of Human Rights (1950). He is a former member of the Irish Parliament and was Minister for External Affairs for Ireland from 1948 to 1951. Since 1963 he has been Secretary-General of the International Commission of Jurists.*

Detail of a giant mural by the Spanish painter Jose Vela Zanetti, in the United Nations Headquarters Building, New York, symbolizing international co-operation in the struggle for justice and peace.

Photo United Nations

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

— Article 7 of the Universal Declaration

Has the time not come to create a Universal Court of Human Rights?

national level and at universal level; ideally, it should be provided at both.

At the regional international level, the only valid system which exists so far is that provided by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. The adoption of analogous Conventions in other regions—Latin America, Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe—has repeatedly been urged. Interest is not lacking, and even drafts exist, but progress has been slow; one of the 1968 targets should be the formulation and adoption of such regional systems for the protection of human rights.

At the universal level the progress in regard to implementation machinery has been also extremely slow and disjointed. The International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the International Covenants on Human Rights do contain some form of implementation machinery. This implementation machinery is far from satisfactory but it does represent a step forward. However, none of these instruments is in force; they are still awaiting ratification by a sufficient number of states to enable them to come into operation.

THE great defect of the present efforts of the United Nations to provide implementation machinery is that it is piecemeal and disjointed, and political rather than judicial. Effective implementation machinery should be objective and automatic in its operation; it should not be *ad hoc* nor dependent on the political expediency of the moment; it should also conform with established judicial norms.

Has the time not come to envisage the establishment of a Universal Court of Human Rights analogous to the European Court of Human Rights with jurisdiction to pronounce on violations of human rights? Even if initially its judgments were to be only declaratory, they would be of considerable moral value and would help to create standards in the field of human rights. Its findings would certainly carry far more weight than those of transient and often ill-equipped part-time U.N. committees or sub-committees, selected on a political basis.

ONE of the obvious immediate tasks upon which all efforts should be concentrated is the ratification of all United Nations conventions and covenants in the human rights field. In many cases governments which have supported, and even signed, international conventions have failed to ratify them. Sometimes this is due to bureaucratic inertia; sometimes to political feet-dragging by governments or parliaments. Whatever the reason, a special effort should be made in 1968 to secure the ratification of these international conventions. Some of these have been under discussion for close on twenty years; some of them have been adopted unanimously by the General Assembly.

One of the factors that influenced the adoption of the Universal Declaration was the determination of world leaders in 1948 to ensure that the world should never again witness the genocide, the destruction of human rights and the brutality that engulfed humanity in the neo-barbarism that accompanied World War II.

Yet, twenty years later, humanity is again witnessing in many areas acts of brutality which disgrace the present era. Such acts create a momentary horror which shocks the human conscience but are only too easily relegated to the "lost property" compartment of the public conscience. Brutality is nearly always contagious. In a conflict, it engenders counter-brutality. The fact that cruelty is tolerated and even easily forgotten tends to encourage others to resort to it.

Cruelty is a contagious disease that leads to a degradation of human standards. This is a serious problem which has grave ethical implications that require the urgent attention of Church leaders, statesmen, sociologists, philosophers and lawyers alike. Would not the International Year for Human Rights be a suitable occasion to launch a campaign to arouse world opinion against brutality? Article 5 of the Universal Declaration must be given reality. This is a field in which Unesco has done much; it is hoped that in the future it will continue increasingly to devise ways and means to minimize the brutalization of mankind.

Most countries have laws making acts of cruelty and brutality criminal offences. Should not such acts also be made offences under international law? After all, international law does operate successfully in such relatively less important fields as extradition, communications, crime detection, commerce, shipping and consular relations. Has the time not come for the United Nations to create an international jurisdiction to deal with crimes against humanity?

For a start, violations of the United Nations and the Red Cross Conventions could be made indictable offences before an International Tri-

THE RIGHT TO JUSTICE

Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence...

— Article 11 of the Universal Declaration

Photo © Magnum - Henri Cartier-Bresson

bunal to punish crimes against humanity. Such a Tribunal could, in addition, be given general power to pass judgment on crimes that violate "... the law of nations, the laws of humanity and the dictates of the public conscience". Gradually, later, a code of Crimes against Humanity could be evolved and embodied in an international convention, but the Tribunal with the jurisdiction indicated could be set up now.

At the end of World War II a bold new concept of international jurisdiction was adopted under the Charter of the International Military Tribunal that dealt with crimes against humanity. Accepting the principle upon which this new jurisdiction was founded, Sir Hersch Lauterpacht (in the 7th edition of Oppenheim) rightly says that:

"... it affirmed the existence of fundamental Human Rights superior to the law of the State and protected by international criminal sanctions, even if violated in pursuance of the law of the State."

This jurisdiction suffered from one major defect: it was a trial of the vanquished by the victors. If this was a defect, is there any good reason for not creating now a permanent judicial tribunal to deal with all crimes against humanity? Such a permanent judicial tribunal would not suffer from the inherent defect of being set up on an *ad hoc* basis to deal with a particular situation.

THE decisions of such a tribunal might remain temporarily unenforceable in some regions. But behind every act of cruelty there is an individual who perpetrates or inspires the act of cruelty. That individual could at least be identified and branded as an international outlaw. Such a sanction would have a restraining influence and would reduce the trend towards the brutalization of mankind.

It is true that the creation of a Universal Court of Human Rights or of a criminal jurisdiction to deal with crimes against Humanity would involve an acceptance of some degree of supra-national jurisdiction: the extent of such acceptance could be regulated by optional clauses.

In the world in which we live, the old outworn concepts of "absolute leave and licence" to rulers to act as they wish without regard to the rights of the human beings over whom they rule cannot subsist. This concept of "absolute leave and licence" is in fact what governments glibly encompass when they euphemistically refer to "infringements of national sovereignty". Every convention, treaty or even trade agreement involves a limitation on absolute national sovereignty.

In this connexion it is noteworthy that some of the very sovereignty-conscious states of Europe have agreed to limit their absolute sovereignty in the domain of human rights by adhering to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. An even greater limitation of national sovereignty has been accepted by the States that compose the European Economic Community, which many other European states now are seeking to join.

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Despotic regimes no longer immune from impact of world opinion

International jurisdictions of the kind suggested must be "automatic"—that is, must be free to act and be capable of acting on receipt of a complaint without the intervention of a government. This is one of the defects of the European Convention in regard to those States which have not subscribed to Articles 25 (the right of individual petition) and 53 (the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court) of the Convention.

In any international jurisdiction which is created, it is essential that the individual aggrieved should have the direct right of petition or complaint to the instances created. It is important to ensure that a complaint will not be stifled by a government or be made dependent upon the prevailing political alignments.

Some of those governments which still cling to the old outworn doctrine of "absolute leave and licence" for themselves argue that the individual can never have rights under international law. This is quite erroneous; this concept was abandoned after World War I, when the Upper Silesian Treaties specifically gave individuals the right of petition. The European Convention as well as the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and two International Covenants on Human Rights all recognize the right of individual petition under international law.

The composition of any international court or tribunal set up must be above suspicion of bias. Its members should as far as is possible be selected on a non-political basis; they should not be merely functionaries of their governments but should be jurists of high standing who would command respect.

Independently of any international judicial implementation machinery, there is at the moment a vitally important proposal for the establishment of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights with a status in some ways analogous to the High Commissioner for Refugees.

This proposal, if adopted, will provide the United Nations with a modest but useful instrument for the fulfilment of its mandate, under article 13 of the Charter, to assist "in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all".

One aspect of the proposal which is of considerable importance is the power the High Commissioner would have to render assistance and services to governments when requested to do so. Governments, particularly of newly independent states, are frequently faced with complex problems affecting human rights in regard to which they require advice and assistance. At the moment there is no United Nations body to which they can turn. The result has been that non-governmental organizations receive requests from governments for assistance, but non-governmental organizations are not the ideal bodies to carry out this sort of mission; they have not the necessary resources to undertake this work; nor are they always politically acceptable.

This is a function which would be much better performed by a High Commissioner appointed by the General Assembly, with all the moral authority that he would have as representative of the General Assembly. There is a considerable field in which, for lack of an appropriate United Nations authority, the non-governmental organizations are the only bodies to take an active interest. The appointment of an independent and objective High Commissioner would provide a United Nations authority able to perform some of the functions now being discharged by non-governmental organizations.

Modest though it is, the proposal for the institution of a U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights would make a useful contribution to the protection of human rights. It in no way can be said to encroach upon national sovereignty.

As six non-governmental organizations concerned with human rights issues recently pointed out in expressing their support:

"The functions proposed for the High Commissioner fall short of those which the undersigned international organizations would wish to have assigned to such an independent Office. They do, however, appear to represent the maximum likely to be acceptable to a number of governments in the present circumstances."

It would be a great pity if this proposal were not adopted at least in 1968; it has now been under active consideration for three years.

While there is every reason to feel despondent at the slow progress which is being made in the protection of human rights and at the increase in brutality, this is no time for apathy or cynicism. On the contrary, informed public opinion in the world is now more than ever before in a position to make its voice heard. And world public opinion is ahead of governments in its desire to minimize brutality to ensure the protection of human rights.

The advent of higher standards of literacy and the availability of mass media of communication have given a new dimension to the important role of world public opinion. No dictator or authoritarian regime can now remain immune from the impact of world public opinion. There is no centre of power, be it in a democratic state or in a totalitarian regime, which now can ignore world public opinion for long. Indeed, it can be said that a shift is taking place in the centre of power—a shift that makes governments more subject to world public opinion than ever before. The importance of this new factor is not yet fully appreciated—even by governments.

In this article I have concentrated on the practical measures which governments and the United Nations might take to protect human rights more effectively. I cannot conclude without paying a special tribute to the work of Unesco in this field. At the educational and cultural levels—which are all-important—Unesco has systematically emphasized the importance of the spiritual and cultural aspects of safeguarding the rights that are inherent to human dignity. Indeed, if today there is a better appreciation on the part of world public opinion of the importance of human rights, it is in no small measure due to the foresight and work of Unesco.

FREEDOM OF OPINION AND FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

— Article 19 of the Universal Declaration

Photo Unesco - Dominique Roger

'ONLY THE EDUCATED ARE FREE'

(Continued from page 21)

ENROLMENT IN PRIMARY EDUCATION (number of pupils)	1950	1960	1965
Denmark	435,000	560,000	563,000
France (1)	4,000,000	5,800,000	5,600,000
Hungary	1,200,000	1,390,000	1,450,000
Norway	340,000	430,000	415,000 *
Sweden	708,000	808,000	817,000
Switzerland	477,000	571,000	463,000
United States	24,000,000	34,000,000	36,300,000

(1) "Cours complémentaires" (post-primary courses) were incorporated in secondary education in 1960.

(*) In 1964.

ENROLMENT IN SECONDARY EDUCATION (1) (number of pupils)	1950	1960	1965
Finland	95,000	300,000	340,000
France	817,000	1,700,000	2,318,000
Ireland	54,000	83,000	93,000 *
Japan	6,600,000	7,800,000	11,130,000 *
Sweden	135,000	222,000	198,000
Switzerland	93,000	143,000	255,000
United States	6,900,000	11,157,000	13,300,000

(1) It is difficult to separate the 50 million children in the primary and secondary schools of the U.S.S.R. into distinct groups.

(*) In 1964.

cess of changing. The flood from the secondary schools is spreading to the universities, a particularly alarming development, since higher education is just beginning to be reached by the first wave of the increased birth rate which began in 1945.

In our modern society dominated by science and technology, an understanding of science and a knowledge of technology are keys to many important posts. More and more young women especially are entering universities. In the faculties of arts and pharmacology there are even more women students than men, though men are still in the majority in the faculties of science, law and medicine. Finally, students from abroad are swelling university enrolment in many countries. In 1964, for example, the U.K. had 15,000 students from overseas, France had 35,600, the U.S.S.R. 21,000 and the U.S.A. 82,000.

How do the students manage to pay for bed, board and studies? Some live on allowances from their families; but more and more receive state grants or take part-time jobs to support themselves.

An encouraging fact is that education has benefited from the largest increases in the world's expanding national budgets. Everywhere the per-

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'Production-line' teaching and learning by rote

centage accorded education, whether in terms of the total budget or in relation to a country's gross national product, is steadily increasing.

Education and quality

Progress in making the Right to Education an everyday reality has everywhere been hampered by the multitude of children for whom there are no schools and teachers.

But in education, more than in any other field, quantity is often the totality of quality. Once a school has been built and the children have crowded into the classroom, the real task begins—not only to find a capable teacher, but also to ensure that each child is able to use his intelligence, receptivity and determination to the best advantage.

Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights declares: "Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality."

By making education available to the largest number of children, the possibilities of creating a large and active élite are immeasurably increased. Providing, of course, that children are given competent teachers, pleasant classrooms, suitable textbooks and equipment and are able to work in an atmosphere that is strict yet relaxed, serious yet cheerful.

Each child must also be given the opportunity to develop his capacity for understanding, his curiosity, imagination and memory and his desire to do well, with the patient help, friendly encouragement and active guidance of a good teacher. Whether one considers children in thousands or in millions, the basic unit after all is the group of 30 to 35 children under the charge of a capable teacher.

Reality often falls short of this ideal. Quantity too often leads to children being handed over to unqualified teachers. In Norway, 14 per cent of primary teachers are unqualified and the percentage in secondary schools is even higher; in the Netherlands, 24 per cent of secondary school teachers are without diplomas; half of Israel's secondary teachers are unqualified and only 300 to 350 teachers graduate from university each year instead of the 700 to 800 that are needed; 15 per cent of the posts in Bulgaria's schools are vacant, and 22 per cent of those in the technical schools; Denmark has 20 per cent fewer primary teachers than it needs and is short of teachers in literature, mathematics and physics; in Finland only 6 per cent of primary teachers are without diplomas, but 45 per cent of secondary teachers are underqualified; in Spain many posts in technical schools are vacant.

These are facts acknowledged by governments themselves in their yearly reports to the International Bureau of Education in Geneva. The situation is far worse in the developing countries. It might well be said that only too often helpless teachers are handed over to the children.

The consequences are overcrowded classes (40 children and upwards); "production-line teaching" (one group in the morning, another in the afternoon); teaching methods which condemn children to listen, assimilate imitate, learn by rote and repeat. Unless he has the makings of a genius the individual child is submerged and lost in this anonymous mass.

Nearly half the pupils in the primary schools of the developing countries drop out in the first or second years. Scarcely one quarter of those who start school complete the course. What they learn is thus likely to be quickly lost.

In the economically developed countries the most harmful effects are a lowering of the general level of education, too much repetition, classes swollen by the children who stay an extra year in the same grade, the overburdening of children with work and, far worse, the turning out of maladjusted children, mentally maladjusted because their minds have been badly trained and socially maladjusted because they have become "rebels" against their environment, and have learned nothing that can be of use to them in their adult life.

HIGHER EDUCATION
(number of students)

	1955	1965
Belgium	42,700	84,000
France (universities only)	157,400	413,700
Poland	157,400	251,800
Sweden	22,600	68,000
U.S.S.R. ...	1,867,000	3,860,000
United Kingdom ...	131,400	312,200
United States	2,664,000	4,950,000 *

(*) In 1964.

These evils extend to the top levels. In the United States only one-quarter of university students complete their courses; in French universities only one student in five obtains a degree.

Such are the results of sacrificing quality to quantity unless energetic measures are taken to find a remedy. Quality and quantity can well go hand in hand providing educators are vigilant and prepared to act in time. And such action must be directed both to the structure and content of education.

Confronted with all these problems, Unesco acts as a catalyst of creative ideas. Open to the whole world, understanding the needs of different countries, Unesco is well placed to note the genesis of such ideas, to follow their evolution and at the appropriate time to make them widely known. It has already done so in many ways, particularly with regard to functional literacy, educational planning, continuing education for adults, education for international understanding and the status of teachers.

'Report on slavery'

An international inquiry into the extent to which slavery, the slave trade or practices similar to slavery still persist in the world today is the subject of a special report recently published by the United Nations. Produced by Mohamed Awad of the United Arab Republic, the "Report on Slavery" is based on information from 78 countries (39 countries did not reply). After studying the Report, the U.N. Economic and Social Council adopted a "Slavery" resolution calling for action "to put an end to slavery and the slave trade in all their practices and manifestations".

Letters to the Editor

SURVIVAL IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

Sir,

I had never realized the gravity of the threat that hangs over us until I read Philip Noel-Baker's article (War or Peace?, Aug.-Sept. 1967). Is our education to blame? I am sure of it. We are always hearing about the atomic bomb, but not the facts that would bring home to us the horror of nuclear warfare.

Could not, indeed, "Survival in the Nuclear Age" replace "The Wars of the Roses" in the history syllabus of secondary schools, as your article suggested?

Is it considered shameful for us to learn the true facts about a current problem of far greater significance to us than say "The Coronation of Charlemagne"?

A.M. Perret
La Frette-sur-Seine, France

ATOMS FOR PEACE

Sir,

Mr. Noel-Baker's "cri de cœur" (Aug.-Sept. 1967) should be translated in all languages; it may save humanity!

Do you think that the author could throw light on a question which I have never seen raised and which, if answered positively, might create wide prospects viz: can the incredible mass of infernal energy stored in the world stock of nuclear weapons, when offered for disarmament, still be made usable for peace purposes? The value would be immense!

A. Loeff
Rotterdam, Netherlands

The answer is "Yes". The atomic energy piled up in nuclear weapons can be reverted and made useful for peaceful purposes. Indeed, all nuclear fuel at present stored in bombs, could be transformed and used as fuel for nuclear ships, nuclear power houses, etc. Modifications would have to be made in the nuclear fuel, but this would entail only a relatively minimum cost. An issue of the Unesco Courier on the peaceful uses of atomic energy is planned for later this year—Editor.

DISARMAMENT IN THE TOYSHOP

Sir,

What about taking the first steps to disarmament in the shops that sell children's toys?

P. Bataillard
Toronto, Ont., Canada

SUPERIORITY COMPLEX

Sir,

The letters protesting against your issue on Apartheid (March 1967) clearly show that you need to devote further time and effort to helping more people view the problem clearly and rationally. What surprises me is that such racial superiority complexes persist in the so-called civilized countries (France, U.K., etc.). Nevertheless, the increasingly enlightened public view of problems such as Apartheid and War over the past twenty years is an encouraging sign.

J. Max
Saint-Egreve, France

A PRACTICAL RESPONSE

Sir,

For Fascists, Nazis and other fanatical "civilizers" to be outraged by your issue on Apartheid is not unexpected. But when I read that one of them is disgusted to the point of cancelling his subscription (Letters to the Editor, June 1967), my immediate reaction is to take out another subscription to the "Unesco Courier".

Pierre Benoist
Arcueil, France

NO COMMENT!

Sir,

My daughter has received a subscription renewal form for the "Unesco Courier". I wish you to know that I have forbidden her to read your magazine since you published your infamously biased issue on Apartheid. The only ideas it expressed were those of a few exiled Negroes. What about the viewpoints of the whites who alone created the Republic of South Africa and of the Negroes and other non-white peoples who live on good terms with the whites?

Your idea of art seems to be limited to a blind admiration for the faltering, groping efforts of primitive peoples. We are quite willing to help them to become civilized, but we categorically refuse to have the descendants of cannibals held up to us as examples.

Robert Barbet-Massin
Vincennes, France

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT SCHOLARSHIP

Sir,

The problems of racialism in Southern Africa are manifold and complex, and will not be solved over a short period. However, the students of the University of East Anglia, U.K., have set up a fund, which they hope will make an active contribution to the efforts being made by a few other student bodies in this country by providing money for a scholarship at this University for a non-European student from South Africa.

The scheme has the support of the University Senate, who have agreed to waive the student's fees and half the cost of residence. We also have contacts in South Africa, and a system for the selection of the student. Although the student body is still very small, a fund has already begun, and a good proportion of the money still needed is expected to come from a voluntary levy on students.

It is hoped that many people will be interested in helping actively to provide a University education in this country for a non-European student. We feel that there is a necessity for a substantial pool of non-Europeans with training and higher education in South Africa, to which we would like to contribute.

Contributions will be gratefully received by the Treasurer, South African Student Scholarship Appeal Fund, c/o The Students' Union, The University of East Anglia, Wilberforce Road, Norwich, U.K.

N. E. Marnham
The University of East Anglia
Norwich, U.K.

ODE TO A SLEEPLESS NIGHT

Sir,

I have occupied myself thoroughly with the problem of "Man and Noise" so particular thanks are due to you for your issue on Noise Pollution (July 1967).

As an answer to Prof. Beranek's article, which states: "The clip-clop of horses and the rumbling of carriages in an earlier day were quiet enough to be romantic!" and that of Prof. Lehmann ("Though we have no precise information on the intensity of noise in, say, a Roman city...") let me quote the Roman poet Juvenal (born about 50 A.D.) in a translation I found in Roman Readings, edited by Michael Grant (Pelican Book A 393):

"Most sick men here die from in-
[somnia (of course
Their illness starts with food un-
[digested, clogging
The burning stomach) — for in
[any rented room
Rest is impossible. It costs money
[to sleep in Rome
There is the root of the sickness.
[Movement of heavy waggons
Through narrow streets, the oaths
[of stalled cattle-drovers
Would break the sleep of a deaf
[man or a lazy walrus."

One may imagine the clatter of the iron rimmed wheels on the cobbles of the narrow streets and the insolent drovers shouting without restraint, and no police available to silence them and no anti-noise law in force! You see, the noise nuisance is already of long standing!

Ludwig Börnstein
Tel-Aviv, Israel

From the Unesco Newsroom...

Sulphuric acid from the sky

About one million tons of sulphuric acid are inundating Sweden annually, according to Prof. Sven Brohult, head of the Swedish Academy of Engineering Sciences. Though much of this pollution comes from smoke-stacks in Sweden, a great deal is brought in from the British Isles and the big industrial centres in northern France, Holland, Belgium and the Fed. Rep. of Germany by westerly and south-west winds.

Newspapers via satellite

Journalism history was made recently when the front page of a London newspaper was transmitted via satellite to San Juan, Puerto Rico. During a transmission lasting 15 minutes the page was received as a film negative, from which a printing plate was made. The method is likely to be used increasingly in the future for speeding newspaper distribution over long distances.

World's oceanographers expand joint research

Two major co-operative international studies—in the Mediterranean in 1969 and in the Caribbean in 1970—have been adopted by the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission, founded by Unesco. Among other projects in an expanded programme of oceanographic research, the Commission voted to take preparatory steps for a global Ocean Station system to co-ordinate and speed the collection of data.

NEW PRICE OF THE 'UNESCO COURIER'

In view of the new exchange rates established in November 1967 for sterling and some other currencies in relation to French francs, as from January 1, 1968 the new rates for the "Unesco Courier" in pounds sterling will be as follows:

Single copies	2/-
Annual subscription	20/-
Two-year subscription	36/-

Subscribers in other countries where the exchange rate has also been changed will be informed by the National Distributors of the new rates in their national currency.

This announcement cancels the previous notice published in our December issue.

Microbiology under the microscope

Microbes play such universal and increasingly important roles in human life—as causers of disease, guinea pigs that give insights into man, manufacturers and processors of food and drink, even as factors in national development and in political and economic decisions—that Unesco's reflective quarterly, "IMPACT of Science on Society," has devoted an entire number to these microscopic giants. (Vol. XVII, N° 3, 1967).

"IMPACT" is published in English, French and Spanish editions. Annual subscriptions: $3 50; 21/-; single copies: $1 00; 6/-. Order through any bookseller or through Unesco National Distributors (see inside back cover).

World snow and ice census

Glaciologists are to make a global survey of the quantity of snow and ice on the surface of the earth as a contribution to the International Hydrological Decade (launched under Unesco's auspices in 1965). The president of the International Commission on Snow and Ice, which is supervising the survey, recently stated that of the 1,360 million cubic kilometres of water in all its forms on earth, only 35 million cubic kilometres consists of fresh water, 80% in the form of ice or snow.

'Flying squad' control of traffic noise

Mobile police control of traffic noise will begin on a trial basis in Sweden this year. Noise meters compact enough to be carried in police cars will first be used in the big cities and later in all parts of the country.

Flashes...

■ *A New Unesco film, "Return to Florence", pays tribute to experts and volunteers from many nations who helped to restore the city's art treasures damaged in the flood of November 1966.*

■ *The Welsh United Nations Association has commissioned Dr Alun Hodinott, a Welsh composer, to write a Human Rights Sonata. Its première will be at the 1968 Cardiff Music Festival.*

■ *U.S. schoolchildren have raised enough money in the past two years to build 150 two-room schools in 24 developing countries.*

■ *A radio-telescope with a rotary aerial 100 metres in diameter (25 metres larger than the world's present most powerful mobile radio telescope at Jodrell Bank, U K.) is to be built in the Eiffel Mountains, Fed. Rep. of Germany.*

■ *Lesotho (ex-Basutoland) has become the 122nd Member State of Unesco.*

BOOKSHELF

UNESCO'S TRANSLATIONS SERIES

Iran

■ **More Tales from the Masnavi**
By A.J. Arberry
George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1963 (28/-).

Pakistan

■ **Poems from the Divan of Khushal Khan Khattak**
Translated from the Pashto by D.N. Mackenzie.
George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1965 (42/-).

India

■ **Bhartrihari: poems**
Translated by Barbara Stoler Miller, with the transliterated Sanskrit text of the Satakatrayam.
Columbia University Press, New York and London, 1967 ($6.00).

MENTOR-UNESCO ART BOOKS
FONTANA UNESCO ART BOOKS

■ **The Art of Western Africa: sculpture and tribal masks**
Introduction by William Fagg.

■ **The Eye of Picasso**
Introduction by Roland Penrose.

■ **Vermeer**
Introduction by A.B. de Vries.
Mentor-Unesco Art Books are published by The New American Library, New York and Toronto, by arrangement with Unesco, 1967 ($1.25).
Fontana Unesco Art Books are published by Collins, London, in association with Unesco, 1967 (5/-).

★

■ **Society Today and Tomorrow**
(Readings in Social Science, 2nd ed.).
Edited by Elgin F. Hunt and Jules Karlin.
The Macmillan Company, New York; Collier - Macmillan, London, 1967 ($4.50).

■ **Medical History of Contraception**
(A Survey of Usages)
By Norman E. Himes.
Gamut Press Inc., New York 1963 ($7.50).

■ **Peace is Possible**
(A reader for laymen)
Edited by Elizabeth Jay Hollins Grossman, New York, 1966 ($2.95).

■ **Kepler's Dream**
By John Lear.
With the full text and notes of *Somnium, Sive Astronomia Lunaris, Joannis Kepleri.* Translated by Patricia Frueh Kirkwood.
University of California Press, Berkley and Los Angeles, 1965 ($5.00).

■ **Travellers in Ethiopia**
Edited by Richard Pankhurst
(Three Crowns Library).
Oxford University Press, London, 1965 (6/-).

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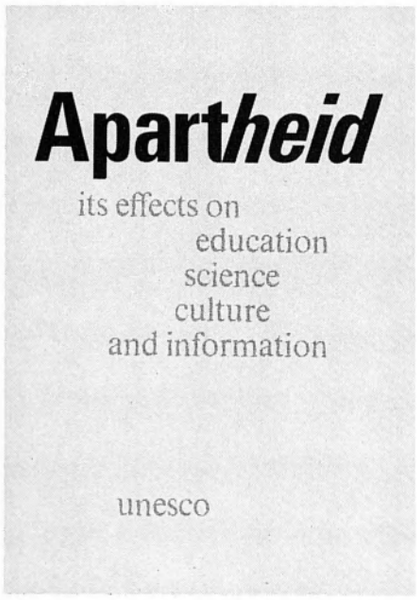

205 pages
Price: $1.50; 8/- (stg.); 5.50 F

"Apartheid is not only an inadmissible answer to racial and group conflict but is itself the major source of this conflict."

This is the conclusion of a report just published by Unesco on the effects of apartheid on education science, culture and information in South Africa.

Based on official government publications and on reports from scientific and research institutions within and outside South Africa, the report investigates:

- **Discriminatory practices at all levels of education.**
- **The effects of apartheid on scientific organization and on international scientific and technical cooperation.**
- **The cultural isolation resulting from "separate development".**
- **Restrictions on freedom of information.**

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and order other Unesco publications

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All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights...

— Article I of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights